

THE *Gal 6 Sb.*
WORKS
OF

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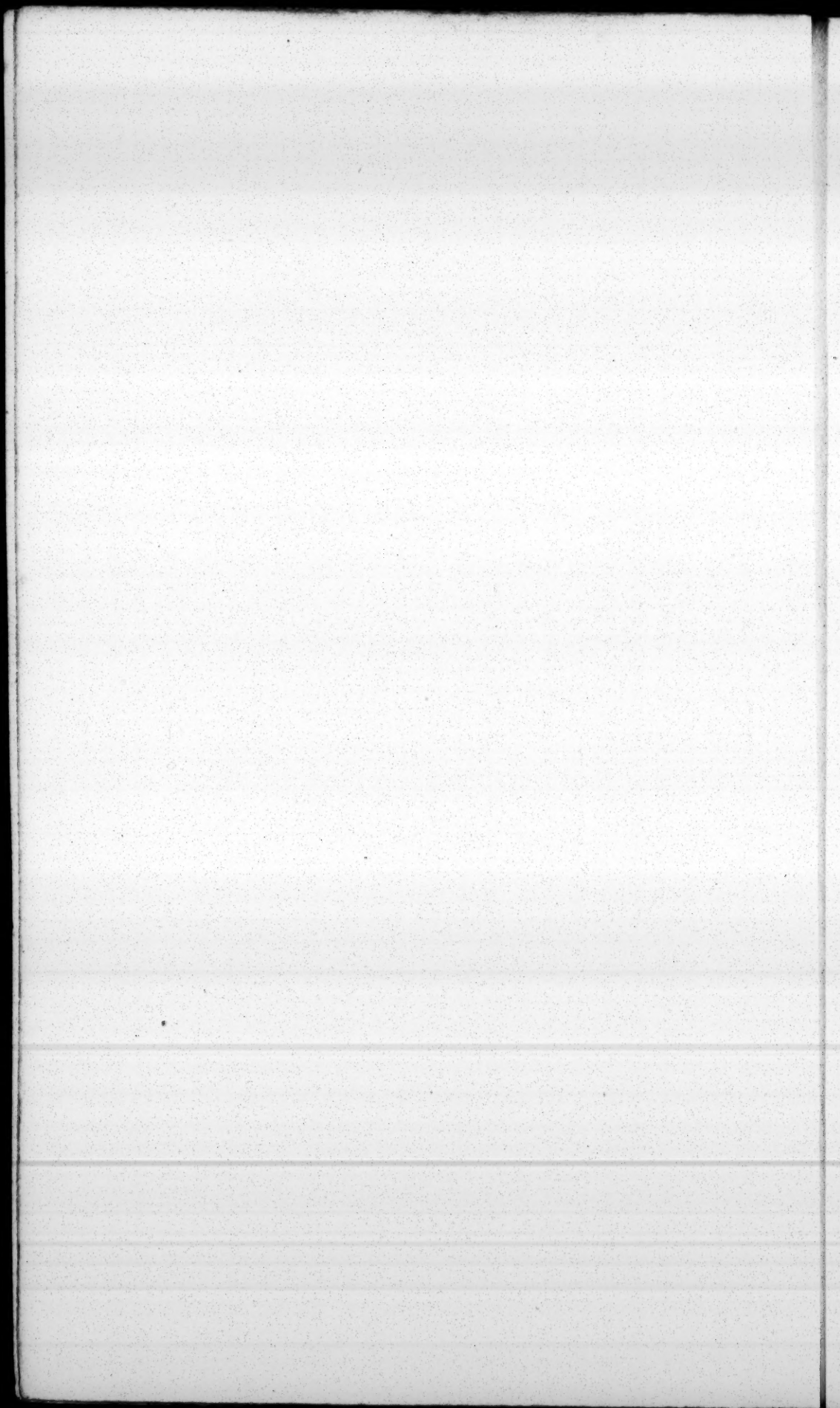
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M E M O I R S

R E L A T I N G T O

That Change which happened in the QUEEN'S
MINISTRY in the Year 1710.

Written in OCTOBER, MDCCXIV.

HAVING continued, for near the space of four years, in a good degree of confidence with the ministry then in being, although not with so much power as was believed, or at least given out by my friends as well as by my enemies, especially the latter, in both houses of parliament: And this having happened during a very busy period of negotiations abroad, and management or intrigue at home, I thought it might probably, some years hence, when the present scene shall have given place to many new ones that will arise, be an entertainment to those who will have any personal regard for me or my memory, to set down some particularities which fell under my knowledge and observation, while I was supposed, whether truly or no, to have part in the secret of affairs.

One circumstance I am a little sorry for, that I was too negligent (against what I had always resolved, and blamed others for not doing) in taking hints or journals of every thing material as it passed, whereof I omitted many that I cannot now re-

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collect, although I was convinced, by a thousand instances, of the weakness of my memory. But, to say the truth, the nearer knowledge any man has in the affairs at court, the less he thinks them of consequence, or worth regarding. And those kind of passages, which I have with curiosity found or searched for in memoirs, I wholly neglected when they were freely communicated to me from the first hand, or were such wherein I acted myself. This I take to be one among other reasons why great ministers seldom give themselves the trouble of recording the important parts of that administration, where they themselves are at the head. They have extinguished all that vanity, which usually possesses men during their first acquaintance at courts; and, like the masters of a puppet-show, they despise those motions which fill common spectators with wonder and delight.

However, upon frequently recollecting the course of affairs during the time I was either trusted or employed, I am deceived, if in history there can be found any period more full of passages, which the curious of another age would be glad to know the secret springs of; or from whence more useful instructions may be gathered for directing the conduct of those, who shall hereafter have the good or ill fortune to be engaged in business of the state.

It may probably enough happen, that those who shall at any time hereafter peruse these papers, may think it not suitable to the nature of them,
that,

that, upon occasion, I sometimes make mention of myself ; who, during these transactions, and ever since, was a person without titles or public employment. But, since the chief leaders of the faction then out of power were pleased, in both houses of parliament, to take every opportunity of shewing their malice, by mentioning me (and often by name) as one who was in the secret of all affairs, and without whose advice or privity nothing was done, or employment disposed of, it will not, perhaps, be improper to take notice of some passages, wherein the publick and myself were jointly concerned ; not to mention that the chief cause of giving myself this trouble, is to satisfy my particular friends ; and, at worst, if, after the fate of manuscripts, these papers shall, by accident or indiscretion, fall into the public view, they will be no more liable to censure than other memoirs, published for many years past, in *English, French, and Italian*. The period of time I design to treat on, will commence with *September 1710*, from which time, till within two months of the queen's death, I was never absent from court, except about six weeks in *Ireland*.

But, because the great change of employments in her majesty's family, as well as in the kingdom, was begun some months before, and had been thought on from the time of *Dr. Sacheverel's* trial, while I was absent, and lived retired in *Ireland* ; I shall endeavour to recollect, as well as I am able, some particulars I learned from the earl of *Oxford*, the lord viscount *Bolingbroke*, the lady *Masham*,

and doctor *Atterbury*, who were best able to inform me.

I have often with great earnestness pressed the earl of *Oxford*, then lord treasurer, and my lady *Masham*, who were the sole persons which brought about that great change, to give me a particular account of every circumstance and passage during that whole transaction. Nor did this request proceed from curiosity, or the ambition of knowing and publishing important secrets ; but from a sincere honest design of justifying the queen, in the measures she then took and after pursued, against a load of scandal, which would certainly be thrown on her memory, with some appearance of truth. It was easy to foresee, even at that distance, that the queen could not live many years ; and it was sufficiently known, what party was most in the good graces of the successor ; and, consequently, what turns would be given by historians to her majesty's proceedings, under a reign, where direct contrary measures would probably be taken. For instance, what would be more easy to a malicious pen than to charge the queen with inconstancy, weakness, and ingratitude, in removing and disgracing the duke of *Marlborough*, who had so many years commanded her armies with victory and success ; in displacing so many great officers of her court and kingdom, by whose counsels she had in all appearance so prosperously governed ; in extending the marks of her severity and displeasure towards the wife and daughters, as well as relations and allies, of that person she had
so

so long employed and so highly trusted ; and all this by the private intrigues of a woman of her bed-chamber, in concert with an artful man, who might be supposed to have acted that bold part only from a motive of revenge upon the loss of his employments, or of ambition to come again into power ?

These were some of the arguments I often made use of with great freedom, both to the earl of *Oxford* and my lady *Masbam*, to incite them to furnish me with materials for a fair account of that great transaction, to which they always seemed as well disposed as myself. My lady *Masbam* did likewise assure me, that she had frequently informed the queen of my request, which her majesty thought very reasonable, and did appear upon all occasions as desirous of preserving reputation with posterity, as might justly become a great prince to be.

But that incurable disease, either of negligence or procrastination, which influenced every action both of the queen and the earl of *Oxford*, did in some sort infect every one who had credit or business in court : For, after soliciting near four years, to obtain a point of so great importance to the queen and her servants, from whence I could propose nothing but trouble, malice, and envy to myself, it was perpetually put off.

The scheme I offered was to write her majesty's reign ; and, that this work might not look officious or affected, I was ready to accept the historiographer's place, although of inconsiderable value, and of

which I might be sure to be deprived upon the queen's death.

This negligence in the queen, the earl of *Oxford*, and my lady *Masbam*, is the cause that I can give but an imperfect account of the first springs of that great change at court, after the trial of doctor *Sacheverel*, my memory not serving me to retain all the facts related to me; but what I remember I shall here set down.

There was not, perhaps, in all *England*, a person who understood more artificially to disguise her passions than the late queen. Upon her first coming to the throne, the duchess of *Marlborough* had lost all favour with her, as her majesty hath often acknowledged to those who have told it me. That lady had long preserved an ascendant over her mistress while she was princess, which her majesty, when she came to the crown, had neither patience to bear, nor spirit to subdue. This princess was so exact an observer of forms, that she seemed to have made it her study, and would often descend so low, as to observe, in her domesticks of either sex, who came in her presence, whether a ruff, a perriwig, or the lining of a coat, were unsuitable at certain times. The duchess, on the other side, who had been used to great familiarities, could not take it into her head, that any change of station should put her upon changing her behaviour, the continuance of which was the more offensive to her majesty, whose other servants, of the greatest quality, did then treat her with the utmost respect. The

The earl of *Godolphin* held in favour about three years longer, and then declined, although he kept his office till the general change. I have heard several reasons given for her majesty's early disgust against that lord. The duchess, who had long been his friend, often prevailed on him to solicit the queen upon things very unacceptable to her, which her majesty liked the worse, as knowing from whence they originally came; and his lordship, although he endeavoured to be as respectful as his nature would permit him, was, upon all occasions, much too arbitrary and obtruding.

To the duke of *Marlborough* she was wholly indifferent (as her nature in general prompted her to be), until his restless, impatient behaviour had turned her against him.

The queen had not a stock of amity to serve above one object at a time; and, further than a bare good or ill opinion, which she soon contracted and changed, and, very often, upon light grounds, she could hardly be said either to love or to hate any body. She grew so jealous upon the change of her servants, that often, out of fear of being imposed upon, by an over caution she would impose upon herself; she took a delight in refusing those who were thought to have greatest power with her, even in the most reasonable things, and such as were necessary for her service; nor would let them be done till she fell into the humour of it herself.

Upon the grounds I have already related, her majesty had gradually conceived a most rooted aver-

sion from the duke and duchess of *Marlborough*, and the earl of *Godolphin*; which spread, in time, through all their allies and relations, particularly to the earl of *Hertford*, whose ungovernable temper had made him fail in his personal respects to her majesty.

This I take to have been the principal ground of the queen's resolutions to make a change of some officers both in her family and kingdom; and that these resolutions did not proceed from any real apprehension she had of danger to the church or monarchy. For, although she had been strictly educated in the former, and very much approved its doctrine and discipline, yet she was not so ready to foresee any attempts against it by the party then presiding. But the fears that most influenced her were such as concerned her own power and prerogative, which those nearest about her were making daily encroachments upon, by their undutiful behaviour and unreasonable demands.

The deportment of the duchess of *Marlborough*, while the prince lay expiring, was of such a nature that the queen, then in the heights of grief, was not able to bear it; but, with marks of displeasure in her countenance, she ordered the duchess to withdraw, and send Mrs. *Masbam* to her.

I forgot to relate an affair that happened, as I remember, about a twelvemonth before prince *George's* death. This prince had long conceived an incurable aversion from that party, and was resolved to use his utmost credit with the queen, his wife,

to

to get rid of them. There fell out an incident, which seemed to favour this attempt ; for the queen, resolving to bestow a regiment upon Mr. *Hill*, brother to Mrs. *Masbam*, signified her pleasure to the duke of *Marlborough* ; who, in a manner not very dutiful, refused his consent, and retired in anger to the country. After some heats, the regiment was given to a third person. But the queen resented this matter so highly, which she thought had been promoted by the earl of *Godolphin*, that she resolved immediately to remove the latter. I was told, and it was then generally reported, that Mr. *St. John* carried a letter from her majesty to the duke of *Marlborough*, signifying her resolutions to take the staff from the earl of *Godolphin*, and that she expected his grace's compliance ; to which the duke returned a very humble answer. I cannot engage for this passage, it having never come into my head to ask Mr. *St. John* about it: But the account Mr. *Harley* and he gave me was, That the duke of *Marlborough* and the earl of *Godolphin* had concerted with them upon a moderating scheme, wherein some of both parties should be employed, but with a more favourable aspect towards the church : That a meeting was appointed for completing this work : That, in the mean time, the duke and duchess of *Marlborough*, and the earl of *Godolphin*, were secretly using their utmost efforts with the queen to turn Mr. *Harley* (who was then secretary of state) and all his friends out of their employ-

ployments : That the queen, on the other side, who had a great opinion of Mr. *Harley's* integrity and abilities, would not consent, and was determined to remove the earl of *Godolphin*. This was not above a month before the season of the year when the duke of *Marlborough* was to embark for *Flanders* ; and, the very night in which Mr. *Harley* and his friends had appointed to meet his grace and the earl of *Godolphin*, *George Churchill*, the duke's brother, who was in good credit with the prince, told his highness, that the duke was firmly determined to lay down his command, if the earl of *Godolphin* went out, or Mr. *Harley* and his friends suffered to continue in. The prince, thus intimidated by *Churchill*, reported the matter to the queen ; and, the time and service pressing, her majesty was unwillingly forced to yield. The two great lords failed the appointment ; and, the next morning, the duke at his levee said aloud in a careless manner, to those who stood round him, That Mr. *Harley* was turned out.

Upon the prince's death, *November 1708*, the two great lords so often mentioned, who had been for some years united with the low church party, and had long engaged to take them into power, were now in a capacity to make good their promises, which his highness had ever most strenuously opposed. The lord *Sommers* was made president of the council, the earl of *Wharton* lieutenant of *Ireland*, and some others of the same stamp were put into considerable posts.

It should seem to me, that the duke and earl were not very willingly drawn to impart so much power to those of that party, who expected these removals for some years before, and were always put off upon pretence of the prince's unwillingness to have them employed. And I remember, some months before his highness's death, my lord *Sommers*, who is a person of reserve enough, complained to me with great freedom of the ingratitude of the duke and earl, who, after the service he and his friends had done them in making the Union, would hardly treat them with common civility. Neither shall I ever forget, that he readily owned to me, that the Union was of no other service to the nation, than by giving a remedy to that evil, which my lord *Godolphin* had brought upon us, by persuading the queen to pass the *Scotch act of security*. But, to return from this digression.

Upon the admission of these men into employments, the court soon ran into extremity of low-church measures; and although, in the house of commons, Mr. *Harley*, Sir *Simon Harcourt*, Mr. *St. John*, and some others, made great and bold stands in defence of the constitution, yet they were always borne down by a majority.

It was, I think, during this period of time, that the duke of *Marlborough*, whether by a motive of ambition, or a love of money, or by the rash counsels of his wife the duchess, made that bold attempt of desiring the queen to give him a commissi-

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on to be general for life. Her majesty's answer was, That she would take time to consider of it; and, in the mean-while, the duke advised with the lord *Cowper*, then chancellor, about the form in which the commission should be drawn. The chancellor, very much to his honour, endeavoured to dissuade the duke from engaging in so dangerous an affair; and protested he would never put the great seal to such a commission.

But the queen was highly alarmed at this extraordinary proceeding in the duke, and talked to a person whom she had then taken into confidence, as if she apprehended an attempt upon the crown. The duke of *Argyle*, and one or two more lords, were (as I have been told) in a very private manner brought to the queen. This duke was under great obligations to the duke of *Marlborough*, who had placed him in a high station in the army, preferred many of his friends, and procured him the garter. But his unquiet and ambitious spirit, never easy while there was any one above him, made him, upon some trifling resentments, conceive an inveterate hatred against his general. When he was consulted what course should be taken upon the duke of *Marlborough's* request to be general for life; and whether any danger might be apprehended from the refusal; I was told, he suddenly answered, That her majesty need not be in pain; for he would undertake, whenever she commanded,

manded, to seize the duke at the head of his troops, and bring him away either dead or alive.

About this time happened the famous trial of Dr. *Sacheverel*, which arose from a foolish passionate pique of the earl of *Godolphin*, whom this divine was supposed, in a sermon, to have reflected on under the name of *Volpone*, as my lord *Sommers*, a few months after, confessed to me; and, at the same time that he had earnestly and in vain endeavoured to dissuade the earl from that attempt. However, the impeachment went on in the form and manner which every body knows, and therefore there need not be any thing said of it here.

Mr. *Harley*, who came up to town during the time of the impeachment, was, by the intervention of Mrs. *Masbam*, privately brought to the queen, and, in some meetings, easily convinced her majesty of the dispositions of her people, as they appeared in the course of that trial in favour of the church, and against the measures of those in her service. It was not without a good deal of difficulty, that Mr. *Harley* was able to procure this private access to the queen; the duchess of *Marlborough*, by her emissaries, watching all the avenues to the backstairs, and upon all occasions discovering their jealousy of him; whereof he told me a passage, no otherwise worth relating, than as it gives an idea of an insolent, jealous minister, who would wholly engross the power and favour of his sovereign. Mr. *Harley*, upon his removal from the secretary's office, by the intrigues of the duke of
Marl-

Marlborough and earl of *Godolphin*, as I have above related, going out of town, was met by the latter of these two lords near *Kensington-gate*. The earl, in a high fit of jealousy, goes immediately to the queen, reproaches her for privately seeing Mr. *Harley*, and was hardly so civil as to be convinced with her majesty's frequent protestations to the contrary.

These suspicions, I say, made it hard for her majesty and Mr. *Harley* to have private interviews; neither had he made use of the opportunities he met with to open himself so much to her, as she seemed to expect, and desired; although Mrs. *Masbam*, in right of her station in the bed-chamber, had taken all proper occasions of pursuing what Mr. *Harley* had begun. In this critical juncture, the queen, hemmed in, and as it were imprisoned, by the duchess of *Marlborough* and her creatures, was at a loss how to proceed. One evening a letter was brought to Mr. *Harley*, all dirty, and by the hand of a very ordinary messenger; he read the superscription, and saw it was the queen's writing; he sent for the messenger, who said, he knew not whence the letter came, but that it was delivered him by an under-gardener, I forget whether of *Hampton-Court* or *Kensington*. The letter mentioned the difficulties her majesty was under, blaming him for not speaking with more freedom, and more particularly; and desiring his assistance. With this encouragement he went more frequently, although still as private as possible, to the back-
stairs;

stair ; and from that time began to have entire credit with the queen. He then told her of the dangers to her crown, as well as to the church and monarchy itself, from the counsels and actions of some of her servants : That she ought gradually to lessen the exorbitant power of the duke and duchess of *Marlborough*, and the earl of *Godolphin*, by taking the disposition of employments into her own hands : That it did not become her to be a slave to a party ; but to reward those who may deserve by their duty and loyalty, whether they were such as were called of the *high-church* or *low-church*. In short, whatever views he had then in his own breast, or how far soever he intended to proceed, the turn of his whole discourse was intended, in appearance, only to put the queen upon what they called a moderating scheme ; which however made so strong an impression upon her, that when this minister, led by the necessity of affairs, the general disposition of the people, and probably by his own inclinations, put her majesty upon going greater lengths than she had first intended, it put him upon innumerable difficulties, and some insuperable ; as we shall see in the progress of this change.

Her majesty, pursuant to Mr. *Harley's* advice, resolved to dispose of the first great employment that fell, according to her own pleasure, without consulting any of her ministers. To put this in execution, an opportunity soon happened by the death of the earl of *Essex*, whereby the lieutenant-
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cy of the *Tower* became vacant. It was agreed between the queen and Mr. *Harley*, that the earl *Rivers* should go immediately to the duke of *Marlborough*, and desire his grace's good offices with the queen, to procure him that post. The earl went accordingly, was received with abundance of professions of kindness by the duke, who said the lieutenancy of the *Tower* was not worth his lordship's acceptance, and desired him to think of something else. The earl still insisted, and the duke still continued to put him off; at length, lord *Rivers* desired his grace's consent to let him go himself and beg this favour of the queen, and hoped he might tell her majesty, his grace had no objection to him. All this the duke readily agreed to, as a matter of no consequence. The earl went to the queen, who immediately gave orders for his commission. He had not long left the queen's presence, when the duke of *Marlborough*, suspecting nothing that would happen, went to the queen, and told her, the lieutenancy of the *Tower* falling void by the death of the earl of *Essex*, he hoped her majesty would bestow it upon the duke of *Northumberland*, and give the *Oxford*-regiment, then commanded by that duke, to the earl of *Hertford*. The queen said, he was come too late; that she had already granted the lieutenancy to earl *Rivers*, who had told her that he [the duke] had no objection to him. The duke, much surprized at this new manner of treatment, and making complaints in her majesty's presence, was however forced to submit.

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The queen went on by slow degrees. Not to mention some changes of lesser moment, the duke of *Kent* was forced to compound for his chamberlain's staff, which was given to the duke of *Shrewsbury*, while the earl of *Godolphin* was out of town, I think at *Newmarket* : His lordship, on the first news, came immediately up to court ; but the thing was done, and he made as good a countenance to the duke of *Shrewsbury* as he was capable of. The circumstances of the earl of *Sunderland's* removal, and the reasons alledged, are known enough. His ungovernable temper had overswayed him to fail in his respects to her majesty's person.

Mean-time both parties stood at gaze, not knowing to what these steps would lead, or where they would end. The earl of *Wharton*, then in *Ireland*, being deceived by various intelligence from hence, endeavoured to hide his uneasiness as well as he could. Some of his sanguine correspondents had sent him word, that the queen began to stop her hand, and the church party to despond. At the same time, the duke of *Shrewsbury* happened to send him a letter filled with great expressions of civility : The earl was so weak, upon reading it, as to cry out, before two or three standers-by, " Damn him, he is making fair weather with me ; " but, by G—d, I will have his head."

But these short hopes were soon blasted, by taking the treasurer's staff from the earl of *Godolphin* ; which was done in a manner not very gracious, her majesty sending him a letter, by a very ordinary

messenger, commanding him to break it. The treasury was immediately put into commission, with earl *Powlet* at the head ; but Mr. *Harley*, who was one of the number, and at the same time made chancellor of the exchequer, was already supposed to preside behind the curtain.

Upon the fall of that great minister and favourite, that whole party became dispirited, and seemed to expect the worst that could follow. The earl of *Wharton* immediately desired and obtained leave to come for *England*, leaving that kingdom, where he had behaved himself with the utmost profligateness, injustice, arbitrary proceedings, and corruption, with the hatred and detestation of all good men, even of his own party.

And here, because my coming into the knowledge of the new ministry began about this time, I must digress a little, to relate some circumstances previous to it.

Although I had been for many years before no stranger at court, and had made the nature of government a great part of my study, yet I had dealt very little with politicks, either in writing or acting, until about a year before the late king *William's* death ; when, returning with the earl of *Berkley* from *Ireland*, and falling upon the subject of the five great lords, who were then impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, by the house of commons, I happened to say, that the same manner of proceeding, at least as it appeared to me from the news we received of it in *Ireland*, had ruined the
liber-

liberties of *Athens* and *Rome*, and that it might be easy to prove it from history. Soon after I went to *London* ; and, in a few weeks, drew up a discourse, under the title of, *The Contests and Dissensions of the Nobles and Commons in Athens and Rome, with the Consequences they had upon both those States*. This discourse I sent very privately to the press, with the strictest injunctions to conceal the author, and returned immediately to my residence in *Ireland*. The book was greedily bought, and read ; and charged some time upon my lord *Sommers*, and some time upon the bishop of *Salisbury* ; the latter of whom told me afterwards, that he was forced to disown it in a very public manner, for fear of an impeachment wherewith he was threatened [a].

Returning next year for *England*, and hearing of the great approbation this piece had received (which was the first I ever printed [b]) I must confess, the vanity of a young man prevailed with me, to let myself be known for the author : Upon which my lords *Sommers* and *Halifax*, as well as the

[a] Vide *Swift's* essay upon the life, writings, and character of Dr. *Jonathan Swift*, chap. vi. p. 121. where there is a droll, pleasant dialogue, between Dr. *Swift* and bishop *Sheridan*, relating to this famous tract.

[b] Meaning the first political piece he had ever printed : otherwise it is not true. For the *Tale of a Tub*, and the *Battle of the Books*, were printed in or about the year 1697. Or, perhaps, Doctor *Swift*, having not thought proper to acknowledge himself the author of those pieces, imagined he had a right to say, this discourse was the first he had ever printed ; two or three poems, in the *Athenian Oracle*, which were printed when he was a very young man, being not worth his remembrance,

bishop abovementioned, desired my acquaintance, with great marks of esteem and professions of kindness: Not to mention the earl of *Sunderland*, who had been my old acquaintance. They lamented that they were not able to serve me since the death of the king, and were very liberal in promising me the greatest preferments I could hope for, if ever it came in their power. I soon grew domestic with lord *Halifax*, and was as often with lord *Sommers* as the formality of his nature (the only unconvertible fault he had) made it agreeable to me.

It was then I began to trouble myself with the difference between the principles of Whig and Tory; having formerly employed myself in other, and, I think, much better speculations. I talked often upon this subject with lord *Sommers*; told him, that, having been long conversant with the *Greek* and *Roman* authors, and therefore a lover of liberty, I found myself much inclined to be what they called a Whig in politicks; and that, besides, I thought it impossible, upon any other principle, to defend, or submit to the Revolution: But, as to religion, I confessed myself to be an high-churchman, and that I did not conceive how any one, who wore the habit of a clergyman, could be otherwise: That I had observed very well with what insolence and haughtiness some lords of the high-church party treated not only their own chaplains, but all other clergymen whatsoever, and thought this was sufficiently recompensed by their professions of zeal to the church: That I had likewise

observed how the whig lords took a direct contrary measure, treated the persons of particular clergymen with great courtesy, but shewed much ill-will and contempt for the order in general: That I knew it was necessary for their party to make their bottom as wide as they could, by taking all denominations of protestants to be members of their body: That I would not enter into the mutual reproaches made by the violent men on either side; but that the connivance, or encouragement, given by the whigs to those writers of pamphlets, who reflected upon the whole body of the clergy without any exception, would unite the church, as one man, to oppose them: And, that I doubted his lordship's friends did not consider the consequence of this. My lord *Sommers*, in appearance, entered very warmly into the same opinion, and said very much of the endeavours he had often used to redress that evil I complained of. This his lordship, as well as my lord *Hallifax* (to whom I have talked in the same manner), can very well remember: And I have indeed been told by an honourable gentleman of the same party, that both their lordships, about the time of lord *Godolphin's* removal, did upon occasion call to mind what I had said to them five years before.

In my journeys to *England*, I continued upon the same foot of acquaintance with the two lords last mentioned, until the time of prince *George's* death, when the queen, who, as is before related, had for some years favoured that party, now made

lord *Sommers* president of the council, and the earl of *Wharton* lieutenant of *Ireland*. Being then in *London* I received letters from some bishops of *Ireland*, to solicit the earl of *Wharton* about the remittal of the first-fruits and tenths to the clergy there, which the queen had long promised, and wherein I had been employed before, with some hopes of success from the earl of *Godolphin*. It was the first time I ever was in company with the earl of *Wharton*: he received me with sufficient coldness, and answered the request I made in behalf of the clergy with very poor and lame excuses, which amounted to a refusal. I complained of this usage to lord *Sommers*, who would needs bring us together to his house, and present me to him; where he received me as dryly as before.

It was every body's opinion, that the earl of *Wharton* would endeavour, when he went to *Ireland*, to take off the Test, as a step to have it taken off here: Upon which I drew up and printed a pamphlet, by way of a letter from a member of parliament here, shewing the danger to the church by such an intent. Although I took all care to be private, yet the lieutenant's chaplain, and some others, guessed me to be the author, and told his excellency their suspicions; whereupon I saw him no more until I went to *Ireland*. At my taking leave of lord *Sommers*, he desired I would carry a letter from him to the earl of *Wharton*, which I absolutely refused; yet he ordered it to be left at my lodgings. I staid some months in *Leicestershire*,
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went to *Ireland* ; and, immediately upon my landing, retired to my country-parish, without seeing the lieutenant, or any other person ; resolving to send him lord *Sommers's* letter by the post. But, being called up to town, by the incessant intreaties of my friends, I went and delivered my letter, and immediately withdrew. During the greatest part of his government, I lived in the country, saw the lieutenant very seldom when I came to town, nor ever entered into the least degree of confidence with him, or his friends, except his secretary Mr. *Addison*, who had been my old and intimate acquaintance.

Upon the news of great changes here, he affected very much to caress me, which I understood well enough to have been an old practice with him, in order to render men odious to the church-party.

I mention these insignificant particulars, as it will be easily judged, for some reasons that are purely personal to myself ; it having been objected by several of those poor pamphleteers, who have blotted so much paper to shew their malice against me, that I was a favourer of the low-party. Whereas it hath been manifest to all men, that, during the highest dominion of that faction, I had published several tracts in opposition to the measures then taken : For instance, *A Project for the reformation of Manners, in a letter to the Countess of Berkeley* ; *The Sentiments of a Church-of-England-man* ; *An Argument against abolishing Christianity* ;

and, lastly, *A Letter to a Member of Parliament against taking off the Test in Ireland*, which I have already mentioned to have been published at the time the earl of *Wharton* was setting out to his government of that kingdom. But those who are loud and violent in coffee-houses, although generally they do a cause more hurt than good, yet will seldom allow any other merit; and it is not to such as these that I attempt to vindicate myself.

About the end of *August* 1710, I went for *England*, at the desire, and by the appointment, of the archbishops and bishops of that kingdom; under whose hands I had a commission to solicit, in conjunction with two bishops who were then in *London*, the first-fruits and twentieths to the clergy, which had been many years solicited in vain. Upon my arrival in town, I found the two bishops were gone into the country; whereupon I got myself introduced to Mr. *Harley*, who was then chancellor of the exchequer, and acted as first minister. He received me with great kindness; told me, that he and his friends had long expected my arrival; and, upon shewing my commission, immediately undertook to perform it, which he accordingly did in less than three weeks, having settled it at five meetings with the queen, according to a scheme I offered him, and got me the queen's promise for a further and more important favour to the clergy of *Ireland*; which the bishops there, deceived by misinformation, not worth mentioning

ing in this paper, prevented me from bringing to a good issue.

When the affair of the first-fruits was fully dispatched, I returned my humble thanks to Mr. *Harley*, in the name of the clergy of *Ireland* and of my own, and offered to take my leave, as intending immediately to return to that kingdom. Mr. *Harley* told me, he and his friends knew very well what useful things I had written against the principles of the late discarded faction; and that my personal esteem for several among them, would not make me a favourer of their cause: That there was now entirely a new scene: That the queen was resolved to employ none but those who were friends to the constitution of church and state: That their great difficulty lay in the want of some good pen, to keep up the spirit raised in the people, to assert the principles, and justify the proceedings, of the new ministers. *Upon that subject he fell into some personal civilities, which will not become me to repeat [c].* He added, That this province was in the hands of several persons, among whom some were too busy, and others too idle to pursue it; and concluded, that it should be his particular care, to establish me here in *England*, and represent me to the queen as a person they could not be without.

I promised to do my endeavours, in that way, for some few months; to which he replied, He ex-

[c] These words printed in *Italicks* are in the original erased, perhaps to avoid the imputation of vanity.

pected no more ; and that he had other and greater occasions for me.

Upon the rise of this ministry, the principal persons in power thought it necessary, that some weekly paper should be published, with just reflexions upon former proceedings, and defending the present measures of her majesty. This was begun about the time of the Lord *Godolphin's* removal, under the title of *The Examiner*. About a dozen of these papers, written with much spirit and sharpness, some by Mr. secretary *St. John*, since lord *Bolingbroke* ; others by Dr. *Atterbury*, since bishop of *Rocheſter* ; and others again by Mr. *Prior*, Dr. *Freind*, &c. were published with great applause. But, these gentlemen being grown weary of the work, or otherwise employed, the determination was, that I should continue it, which I did accordingly about eight months. But, my style being soon discovered, and having contracted a great number of enemies, I let it fall into other hands, who held it up in some manner until her majesty's death.

It was Mr. *Harley's* custom, every *Saturday*, to have four or five of his most intimate friends, among those he had taken in upon the great change made at court, to dine at his house ; and, after about two months acquaintance, I had the honour always to be one of the number. This company, at first, consisted only of the lord-keeper *Harcourt*, the earl *Rivers*, the earl of *Peterborough*, Mr. secretary *St. John*, and myself : And here, after dinner

dinner, they used to discourse, and settle matters of great importance. Several other lords were afterwards, by degrees, admitted ; as, the dukes of *Ormond*, *Shrewsbury*, and *Argyle* ; the earls of *A——y*, *Dartmouth*, and *P——t* ; the lord *B——y* &c. These meetings were always continued, except when the queen was at *Windsor* ; but, as they grew more numerous, became of less consequence ; and ended only in drinking and general conversation ; of which I may, perhaps, have occasion to speak hereafter.

My early appearance at these meetings, which many thought to be of greater consequence than really they were, could not be concealed, although I used all my endeavours to that purpose. This gave the occasion to some great men, who thought me already in the secret, to complain to me of the suspicions entertained by many of our friends in relation to Mr. *Harley*, even before he was lord treasurer ; so early were sown those seeds of discontent, which afterwards grew up so high. The cause of their complaint was, That so great a number of the adverse party continued in employment ; and some, particularly the duke of *Somerset* and earl of *Cholmondely*, in great stations at court. They could not believe Mr. *Harley* was in earnest ; but that he designed to constitute a motly comprehensive administration, which they said the kingdom would never endure. I was once invited to a meeting of some lords and gentlemen, where these grievances were at large related to me, with an earnest

earnest desire that I would represent them in the most respectful manner to Mr. *Harley*, upon a supposition that I was in high credit with him. I excused myself from such an office, upon the newness of my acquaintance with Mr. *Harley*; however, I represented the matter fairly to him; against which he argued a good deal, from the general reasons of politicians; the necessity of keeping men in hopes, the danger of disoblighing those who must remain unprovided for, and the like usual topicks among statesmen. But there was a secret in this matter, which neither I, nor indeed any of his most intimate friends, were then apprised of; neither did he, at that time, enter with me further than to assure me very solemnly, That no person should have the smallest employment, either civil or military, whose principles were not firm for the church and monarchy.

However, these over-moderate proceedings in the court gave rise to a party in the house of commons, which appeared under the name of the *Oxober-club*; a fantastic appellation, found out to distinguish a number of country gentlemen and their adherents, who professed in the greatest degree what was called the *high-church* principle. They grew in number to almost a third part of the house, held their meetings at certain times and places, and there concerted what measures they were to take in parliament. They professed their jealousy of the court and ministry; declared, upon all occasions, their desire of a more general change, as well as of
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a strict enquiry into former mismanagement; and seemed to expect, that those in power should openly avow the old principles in church and state. I was then of opinion, and still continue so, that, if this body of men could have remained some time united, they would have put the crown under a necessity of acting in a more steady and strenuous manner. But Mr. *Harley*, who best knew the disposition of the queen, was forced to break their measures; which he did by that very obvious contrivance of dividing them among themselves, and rendering them jealous of each other. The ministers gave every where out, that the *October-club* were their friends, and acted by their directions; to confirm which, Mr. secretary *St. John* and Mr. *B——*, afterwards chancellor of the exchequer, publicly dined with them at one of their meetings. Thus were eluded all the consequences of that assembly; although a remnant of them, who conceived themselves betrayed by the rest, did afterwards meet under the denomination of the *March-club*, but without any effect.

The parliament, which then rose, had been chosen without any endeavours from the court, to secure elections; neither, as I remember, were any of the lieutenancies changed throughout the kingdom. For the trial of Dr. *Sacheverel* had raised, or discovered, such a spirit in all parts, that the ministers could very safely leave the electors to themselves, and thereby gain a reputation of acting by a free parliament. Yet this proceeding was, by
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some refiners of both parties, numbered among the strains of Mr. *Harley's* politicks, who was said to avoid an over-great majority, which is apt to be unruly, and not enough under the management of a ministry. But, from the small experience I have of courts, I have ever found refinements to be the worst sort of all conjectures; and, from this one occasion, I take leave to observe, That of some hundreds of facts, for the real truth of which I can account, I neither yet knew any refiners to be once in the right. I have already told, that the true reason why the court did not interpose in the matter of elections was, because they thought themselves sure of a majority, and therefore could acquire reputation at a cheap rate. Besides, it afterwards appeared upon some exigencies, which the court had much at heart, that they were more than once like to fail for want of numbers. Mr. *Harley*, in order to give credit to his administration, resolved upon two very important points; first, to secure the unprovided debts of the nation; and, secondly to put an end to the war. Of the methods he took to compass both those ends, I have treated at large in another work: I shall only observe, that, while he was preparing to open to the house of commons his scheme for securing the public debts, he was stabbed by the marquis *de Guiscard*, while he was sitting in the council-chamber at the *Cock-pit*, with a committee of nine or ten lords of the cabinet, met on purpose to examine the marquis upon a discovery of a treasonable correspondence he held with *France*.

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This fact was so uncommon in the manner and circumstances of it, that, although it be pretty well known at the time I am now writing, by a printed account, toward which I furnished the author with some materials, yet I thought it would not be proper wholly to omit it here. The assassin was seized, by Mr. *Harley's* order, upon the eighth of *March 1710-11*; and, brought before the committee of lords, was examined about his corresponding with *France*: Upon his denial, Mr. *Harley* produced a letter, which he could not deny to be his own hand. The marquis, prepared for mischief, had conveyed a penknife into his pocket while the messenger kept him attending in one of the offices below. Upon the surprize of his letter appearing against him, he came suddenly behind Mr. *Harley*, and, reaching his arm round, stabbed that minister into the middle of the breast, about a quarter of an inch above the *cartilago ensiformis*; the penknife, striking upon the bone, and otherwise obstructed by a thick embroidered waistcoat, broke short at the handle, which *Guiscard* still grasped, and redoubled his blow. The confusion upon this accident is easier conceived than described: The result was, that the marquis, whether by the wounds given him by some of the lords, or the bruises he received from the messengers while they were seizing him, or the neglect of his surgeon, or, that being unwilling to live, he industriously concealed one of his wounds, died in a few days after.

after. But Mr. *Harley*, after a long illness and frequent ill-symptoms, had the good fortune to recover.

Guiscard was the younger brother of the count of that name, a very honourable and worthy person, formerly governor of *Namur*. But this marquis was a reproach to his family, prostitute in his morals, impious in religion, and a traitor to his prince: As to the rest, of a very poor understanding, and the most tedious, trifling talker, I ever conversed with. He was grown needy by squandering upon his vices, was become contemptible both here and in *Holland*, his regiment taken from him, and his pension retrenched; the despair of which first put him upon his *French* correspondence; and the discovery of that drove him into madness. I had known him some years; and, meeting him upon the *Mall* a few hours before his examination, I observed to a friend then with me, that I wondered to see *Guiscard* pass so often by without taking notice of me. But although, in the latter part of his life his countenance grew cloudy enough, yet I confess I never suspected him to be a man of resolution or courage sufficient to bear him out in so desperate an attempt.

I have some very good reasons to know, that the first misunderstanding between Mr. *Harley* and Mr. *St. John*, which afterwards had such unhappy consequences upon the public affairs, took its rise during the time that the former lay ill of his wounds, and his recovery doubtful. Mr. *St. John*
affected

affected to say in several companies, that *Guiscard* intended the blow against him; which, if it were true, the consequence must be, that Mr. *St. John* had all the merit, while Mr. *Harley* remained with nothing but the danger and the pain. But, I am apt to think, Mr. *St. John* was either mistaken or misinformed: However, the matter was thus represented in the weekly paper called *The Examiner*, which Mr. *St. John* perused before it was printed, but made no alteration in that passage.

This management was looked upon, at least, as a piece of youthful indiscretion in Mr. *St. John*; and, perhaps, was represented in a worse view to Mr. *Harley*: Neither am I altogether sure, that Mr. *St. John* did not entertain some prospect of succeeding as first minister, in case of Mr. *Harley's* death; which, during his illness, was frequently apprehended. And, I remember very well, that, upon visiting Mr. *Harley*, as soon as he was in a condition to be seen, I found several of his nearest relations talk very freely of some proceedings of Mr. *St. John*; enough to make me apprehend, that their friendship would not be of any long continuance.

Mr. *Harley*, soon after his recovery, was made an earl, and lord treasurer; and lord keeper, a baron.

P R E F A C E

TO THE

H I S T O R Y

OF THE

Four last Years of Queen *Anne's* Reign.

HA V I N G written the following History at *Windſor*, in the happy reign of her majeſty queen *Anne*, of ever glorious, bleſſed, and immortal memory; I reſolved to publiſh it, for the ſatisfaction of my fellow-ſubjects, in the year 1713; but being under a neceſſity of going to *Ireland*, to take poſſeſſion of the Deanry of *St. Patrick's, Dublin*, I left the original with the miniſters; and having ſtaid in that kingdom not above a fortnight, I found at my return, that my lord treaſurer *Oxford*, and the ſecretary my lord *Bolingbroke*, who were then unhappily upon very ill terms with each other, could not agree upon publiſhing it, without ſome alterations which I would not ſubmit to. Whereupon I kept it by me until her majeſty's death, which happened about a year after.

I have ever ſince preſerved the original very ſafely; too well knowing what a turn the world would take upon the *German* family's ſucceeding to the crown; which indeed was their undoubted right, having been eſtabliſhed ſolemnly by the act of

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an undisputed parliament, brought into the house of commons by Mr. *Harley*, who was then speaker.

But, as I have said in another discourse, it was very well understood, some years before her majesty's death, how the new king would act immediately upon his entrance in the choice of those (and those alone) whom he resolved to trust; and consequently what reports would industriously be raised, as well as spread, to expose the proceedings of her majesty herself, as well as of her servants; who have been ever since blasted as enemies to the present establishment, by the most ignorant and malicious among mankind.

Therefore, as it was my lot to have been daily conversant with the persons then in power; never absent in times of business or conversation, until a few weeks before her majesty's death; and a witness of almost every step they made in the course of their administration; I must have been very unfortunate not to be better informed than those miserable pamphleteers, or their patrons, could pretend to. At the same time, I freely confess, it appeared necessary, as well as natural, upon such a mighty change as the death of a sovereign, that those who were to be in power upon the succession, and resolved to act in every part by a direct contrary system of politics, should load their predecessors with as much infamy as the most inveterate malice and envy could suggest, or the most stupid ignorance and credulity in their underlings could swallow.

Therefore, as I pretend to write with the utmost impartiality the following History of the four last years of her majesty's reign, in order to undeceive prejudiced persons at present, as well as posterity; I am persuaded in my own mind, as likewise by the advice of my oldest and wisest friends, that I am doing my duty to God and man, by endeavouring to set future ages right in their judgment of that happy reign; and, as a faithful historian, I cannot suffer falsehoods to run on any longer, not only against all appearance of truth as well as probability, but even against those happy events, which owe their success to the very measures then fixed in the general peace.

The materials for this History, besides what I have already mentioned, I mean the confidence reposed in me for those four years by the chief persons in power, were extracted out of many hundred letters written by our ambassadors abroad, and from the answers as well as instructions sent them by our secretaries of state, or by the first minister the earl of *Oxford*. The former were all originals, and the latter copies entered into books in the secretaries office, out of both which I collected all that I thought convenient; not to mention several memorials given me by the ministers at home. Further, I was a constant witness and observer of all that passed, and entered every particular of any consequence upon paper.

I was so far from having any obligation to the crown, that, on the contrary, her majesty issued a pro-

a proclamation, offering 300*l.* to any person who would discover the author of a certain short treatise [*d*], which the queen well knew to have been written by me. I never received one shilling from the minister, or any other present, except that of a few books; nor did I want their assistance to support me. I very often dined indeed with the treasurer and secretary; but, in those days, that was not reckoned a bribe, whatever it may have been at any time since. I absolutely refused to be chaplain to the lord treasurer; because I thought it would ill become me to be in a state of dependence.

I say this to shew, that I had no other bias than my own opinion of persons and affairs. I preserved several of the opposite party in their employments, who were persons of wit and learning, particularly Mr. *Addison* and Mr. *Congreve*, neither of whom were ever in any danger from the treasurer, who much esteemed them both; and, by his lordship's commands, I brought the latter to dine with him. Mr. *Steele* might have been safe enough, if his continually-repeated indiscretions, and a zeal mingled with scurrilities, had not forfeited all title to lenity.

I know very well the numberless prejudices of weak and deceived people, as well as the malice of those, who, to serve their own interest or ambition, have cast off all religion, morality, justice,

[*d*] Public Spirit of the Whigs.

and common decency. However, although perhaps I may not be believed in the present age, yet I hope to be so in the next, by all who will bear any regard for the honour and liberty of *England*, if either of these shall then subsist or not.

I have no interest or inclination to palliate the mistakes, or omissions, or want of steadiness, or unhappy misunderstandings, among a few of those who then presided in affairs.

Nothing is more common than the virulence of superficial and ill-informed writers, against the conduct of those who are now called prime ministers: And, since factions appear at present to be at a greater height than in any former times, although, perhaps, not so equally poised; it may probably concern those who are now in their height, if they have any regard for their own memories in future ages, to be less warm against others who humbly differ from them in some state opinions. Old persons remember, at least by tradition, the horrible prejudices that prevailed against the first earl of *Clarendon*, whose character, as it now stands, might be a pattern for all ministers; although even bishop *Burnet* of *Sarum*, whose principles, veracity, and manner of writing, are so little esteemed upon many accounts, hath been at the pains to vindicate him.

Upon that irreparable breach between the treasurer and secretary *Bolingbroke*, after my utmost endeavours, for above two years, to reconcile them, I retired to a friend in *Berkshire*, where I staid until

til her majesty's death; and then immediately returned to my station in *Dublin*, where I continued about twelve years without once seeing *England*. I there often reviewed the following Memoirs; neither changing or adding further than by correcting the style: and, if I have been guilty of any mistakes, they must be of small moment; for it was hardly possible I could be wrong informed, with all the advantages I have already mentioned.

I shall not be very uneasy under the obloquy that may, perhaps, be cast upon me by the violent leaders and followers of the present prevailing party. And, yet, I cannot find the least inconsistency with conscience or honour, upon the death of so excellent a princess as her late majesty, for a wise and good man to submit, with a true and loyal heart, to her lawful Protestant successor; whose hereditary title was confirmed by the queen and both houses of parliament, with the greatest unanimity, after it had been made an article in the treaty, that every prince in our alliance should be a guarantee of that succession. Nay, I will venture to go one step farther; that, if the negotiators of that peace had been chosen out of the most professed zealots for the interest of the *Hanover* family, they could not have bound up the *French* king, or the *Hollanders*, more strictly than the queen's plenipotentiaries did in confirming the present succession; which was in them so much a

greater mark of virtue and loyalty, because they perfectly well knew, that they should never receive the least mark of favour, when the succession had taken place.

✎ See Letters LXVII. and LXVIII. in vol. XVI. to the Earl of Oxford and Mr. Lewis; where the reasons of the following History's having been so long suppressed are laid before the reader.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
FOUR LAST YEARS
OF THE
QUEEN.
BOOK I.

I Propose to give the publick an account of the most important affairs at home, during the last session of parliament, as well as of our negotiations of peace abroad, not only during that period, but some time before and since. I shall relate the chief matters transacted by both houses in that session, and discover the designs carried on by the heads of a discontented party, not only against the ministry, but in some manner against the crown itself: I likewise shall state the debts of the nation, shew by what mismanagement, and to serve what purposes, they were at first contracted, by what negligence or corruption they have so prodigiously grown, and what methods have since been taken to provide not only for their payment, but to pre-

vent the like mischief for the time to come. Although, in an age like ours, I can expect very few impartial readers, yet I shall strictly follow truth, or what reasonably appeared to me to be such, after the most impartial inquiries I could make, and the best opportunities of being informed by those who were the principal actors or advisers.

Neither shall I mingle panegyrick or satire with an history intended to inform posterity, as well as to instruct those of the present age, who may be ignorant or misled; since facts, truly related, are the best applauses, or most lasting reproaches.

Discourses upon subjects relating to the publick usually seem to be calculated for *London* only, and some few miles about it; while the authors suppose their readers to be informed of several particulars, to which those that live remote are, for the generality, utter strangers. Most people who frequent this town acquire a sort of smattering (such as it is), which qualifies them for reading a pamphlet, and finding out what is meant by innuendoes or hints at facts or persons, initial letters of names, wherein gentlemen at a distance, although perhaps of much better understandings, are wholly in the dark: wherefore, that these memoirs may be rendered more generally intelligible and useful, it will be convenient to give the reader a short view of the state and disposition of affairs, when the last session of parliament began; and because the party-leaders, who had lost their power and places, were, upon that juncture, employing
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all their engines in an attempt to re-establish themselves, I shall venture one step further, and represent so much of their characters as may be supposed to have influenced their politicks.

On the 7th day of *December*, 1711, began the second session of parliament. It was now above a year since the queen had thought fit to put the great offices of state, and of her own household, into other hands: however, three of the discontented lords were still in possession of their places; for the duke of *Marlborough* continued general, the duke of *Somerset* master of the horse, and the earl of *Cholmondely* treasurer of her majesty's household: likewise great numbers of the same party still kept employments of value and importance, which had not been usual of late years, upon any changes of ministry. The queen, who judged the temper of her people by this house of commons, which a landed interest had freely chosen, found them very desirous of a secure and honourable peace, and disposed to leave the management of it to her own wisdom, and that of her own council: she had therefore, several months before the session began, sent to inform the States General of some overtures which had been made her by the enemy; and during that summer her majesty took several farther steps in that great affair, until at length, after many difficulties, a congress at *Utrecht* for a general peace was agreed upon; the whole proceedings of which previous negotiations, between our court

and

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and that of *France*, I shall, in its proper place, very particularly relate.

The nation was already upon a better foot, with respect to its debts ; for the earl of *Oxford*, lord treasurer, had, in the preceding session, proposed and effected ways and means in the house of commons (where he was then a member), for providing a parliamentary fund to clear the heavy arrear of ten millions (whereof the greatest part lay upon the navy), without any new burthen (at least after a very few years) to the kingdom ; and at the same time he took care to prevent farther incumbrances upon that article, by finding ready money for naval provisions, which hath saved the public somewhat more than *cent. per cent.* in that mighty branch of our expences.

The clergy were altogether in the interests and the measures of the present ministry, which had appeared so boldly in their defence, during a prosecution against one of their members, where the whole Sacred Order was understood to be concerned. The zeal shewn for that most religious bill, to settle a fund for building fifty new churches in and about the city of *London*, was a fresh obligation ; and they were farther highly gratified, by her majesty's chusing one of their body to be a great officer of state [f].

By this time likewise all disputes about these principles, which used originally to divide Whig and

[f] Dr. *Robinson*, lord bishop of *Bristol*, to be lord privy seal.

Tory,

Tory, were wholly dropped; and those fantastical words ought in justice to have been so too, provided we could have found out more convenient names, whereby to distinguish lovers of peace from lovers of war; or those who would leave her majesty some degree of freedom in the choice of her ministers, from others who could not be satisfied with her chusing any, except such as she was most averse from: but where a nation is once divided, interest and animosity will keep open the breach, without being supported by any other principles; or, at worst, a body of discontented people can change, and take up what principles they please.

As to the disposition of the opposite party, we all remember, that the removal of the last ministry was brought about by several degrees; through which means it happened, that they and their friends were hardly recovered out of one astonishment, before they fell into another. This scene lasted for some months, and was followed by a period of rage and despair, natural to those who reflect that they have lost a secure game by their own rashness, folly, and want of common management; when at the same time they knew, by experience, that a watchful and dexterous adversary lay ready to take the advantage. However, some time before the session, the heads of that party began to recollect themselves, and rally their forces, like an enemy who hath been beaten out of the field, but finds he is not pursued; for although the
chiefs

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chiefs of this faction were thought to have but little esteem or friendship for each other, yet they perfectly agreed in one general end, of distressing, by all possible methods, the new administration; wherein if they could succeed, so far as to put the queen under any great necessity, another parliament must be called, and perhaps the power devolve again into their own hands.

The issue and event of that grand confederacy appearing in both houses, although under a different form, upon the very first day the parliament met, I cannot better begin the relation of affairs, commencing from that period, than by a thorough detection of the whole intrigue, carried on with the greatest privacy and application, which must be acknowledged to have, for several days, disconcerted some of the ministry, as well as dispirited their friends; and the consequences thereof, which have, in reality, been so very pernicious to the kingdom.

But because the principal leaders in this design are the same persons to whom, since the loss of their power, all the opposition has been owing, which the court received either in treaties abroad, or the administration at home: it may not be improper to describe those qualities in each of them, which few of their admirers will deny, and which appear chiefly to have influenced them in acting their several parts upon the public stage; for I do not intend to draw their characters intire, which would be tedious, and little to the purpose; but shall only single out those passions, acquirements,
and

and habits, which the owners were most likely to transfer into their political schemes, and which were most subservient to the designs they seemed to have in view.

The lord *Sommers* may very deservedly be reputed the head and oracle of that party: he hath raised himself, by the concurrence of many circumstances, to the greatest employments of the state, without the least support from birth or fortune: he hath constantly, and with great steadiness, cultivated those principles under which he grew. That accident which first produced him into the world, of pleading for the bishops, whom king *James* had sent to the Tower, might have proved a piece of merit as honourable as it was fortunate; but the old republican spirit, which the Revolution had restored, began to teach other lessons; that, since we had accepted a new king from a Calvinistical commonwealth, we must also admit new maxims in religion and government: but since the nobility and gentry would probably adhere to the established church, and to the rights of monarchy as delivered down from their ancestors; it was the practice of those politicians to introduce such men as were perfectly indifferent to any or no religion, and who were not likely to inherit much loyalty from those to whom they owed their birth. Of this number was the person I am now describing. I have hardly known any man with talents more proper to acquire and preserve the favour of a prince, never offending in word or gesture, in the highest degree

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gree courteous and complaisant, wherein he set an excellent example to his colleagues, which they did not think fit to follow; but this extreme civility is universal and undistinguished, and in private conversation, where he observeth it as inviolably as if he were in the greatest assembly, it is sometimes censured as formal: two reasons are assigned for this behaviour; first, from the consciousness of his humble original, he keepeth all familiarity at the utmost distance, which otherwise might be apt to intrude; the second, that, being sensible how subject he is to violent passions, he avoideth all incitements to them, by teaching those he converses with, from his own example, to keep a great way within the bounds of decency and respect; and it is, indeed, true, that no man is more apt to take fire upon the least appearance of provocation, which temper he strives to subdue with the utmost violence upon himself: so that his breast has been seen to heave, and his eyes to sparkle with rage, in those very moments, when his words, and the cadence of his voice, were in the humblest and softest manner; perhaps, that force upon his nature may cause that insatiable love of revenge, which his detractors lay to his charge, who consequently reckon dissimulation among his chief perfections. Avarice he hath none; and his ambition is gratified, by being the uncontested head of his party. With an excellent understanding, adorned by all the polite parts of learning, he hath very little taste for conversation, to which he prefers the pleasure of reading and thinking;

thinking; and in the intervals of his time amuseth himself with an illiterate chaplain, an humble companion, or a favourite servant.

These are some few distinguishing marks in the character of that person, who now presideth over the discontented party; although he be not answerable for all their mistakes: and if his precepts had been more strictly followed, perhaps their power would not have been so easily shaken. I have been assured, and heard him profess, that he was against engaging in that foolish prosecution of *Dr. Sacheverel*, as what he foresaw was likely to end in their ruin; that he blamed the rough demeanour of some persons to the queen, as a great failure in prudence; and that, when it appeared her majesty was firmly resolved upon a treaty of peace, he advised his friends not to oppose it in its progress, but find fault with it after it was made, which would be a copy of the like usage themselves had met with after the treaty of *Ryswick*; and the safest as well as the most probable way of disgracing the promoters and advisers. I have been the larger in representing to the reader some idea of this extraordinary genius, because whatever attempt hath hitherto been made, with any appearance of conduct or probability of success, to restore the dominion of that party, was infallibly contrived by him; and I prophesy the same for the future, as long as his age and infirmities will leave him capable of business.

The duke of *Marlborough's* character hath been so variously drawn, and is indeed of so mixed a

nature in itself, that it is hard to pronounce on either side without the suspicion of flattery or detraction. I shall say nothing of his military accomplishments, which the opposite reports of his friends and enemies among the soldiers have rendered problematical : but if he be among those who delight in war, it is agreed to be, not for the reasons common with other generals. Those maligners, who deny him personal valour, seem not to consider, that this accusation is charged at a venture ; since the person of a wise general is too seldom exposed to form any judgment in the matter : and that fear, which is said to have sometimes disconcerted him before an action, might probably be more for his army than for himself. He was bred in the height of what is called the Tory principle, and continued with a strong bias that way, till the other party had bid higher for him than his friends could afford to give. His want of literature is in some sort supplied by a good understanding, a degree of natural elocution, and that knowledge of the world which is learned in armies and courts. We are not to take the height of his ambition from his soliciting to be General for life : I am persuaded his chief motive was the pay and perquisites, by continuing the war ; and that he had *then* no intentions of settling the crown in his family, his only son having been dead some years before. He is noted to be master of great temper, able to govern or very well to disguise his passions, which are all melted down or

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extinguished in his love of wealth. That liberality which nature has denied him, with respect of money, he makes up by a great profusion of promises; but this perfection, so necessary in courts, is not very successful in camps among soldiers, who are not refined enough to understand or to relish it.

His wife the duchess may justly challenge her place in this list. It is to her the duke is chiefly indebted for his greatness and his fall; for above twenty years she possessed, without a rival, the favours of the most indulgent mistress in the world, nor ever missed one single opportunity that fell in her way of improving it to her own advantage. She hath preserved a tolerable court-reputation, with respect to love and gallantry; but three furies reigned in her breast, the most mortal enemies of all softer passions, which were sordid avarice, disdainful pride, and ungovernable rage; by the last of these often breaking out in sallies of the most unpardonable sort, she had long alienated her sovereign's mind, before it appeared to the world. This lady is not without some degree of wit, and hath in her time affected the character of it, by the usual method of arguing against religion, and proving the doctrines of Christianity to be impossible and absurd. Imagine what such a spirit, irritated by the loss of power, favour, and employment, is capable of acting or attempting, and then I have said enough.

The next in order to be mentioned is the earl of *Godolphin*: it is said, he was originally intended for a trade, before his friends preferred him to be a

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page at court, which some have very unjustly objected as a reproach. He hath risen gradually in four reigns, and was more constant to his second master king *James*, than some others who had received much greater obligations; for he attended the abdicated king to the sea-side, and kept constant correspondence with him till the day of his death. He always professed a sort of passion for the queen at *St. Germain's*; and his letters were to her in the style of what the *French* call *double-entendre*. In a mixture of love and respect, he used frequently to send her from hence little presents of those things which are agreeable to ladies, for which he always asked king *William's* leave, as if without her privity; because, if she had known that circumstance, it was to be supposed she would not accept them. Physiognomists would hardly discover, by consulting the aspect of this lord, that his predominant passions were love and play; that he could sometimes scratch out a song in praise of his mistress with a pencil and card; or that he hath tears at command, like a woman, to be used either in an intrigue of gallantry or politicks. His alliance with the *Marlborough* family and his passion for the duchess, were the cords which dragged him into a party, whose principles he naturally disliked and whose leaders he personally hated, as they did him. He became a thorough convert, by a perfect trifle, taking fire at a nickname [g] delivered by Dr. *Sacheverel*, with great

[g] Volpone,

in-

indiscretion from the pulpit, which he applied to himself: and this is one, among many instances given by his enemies, that magnanimity is none of his virtues.

The earl of *Sunderland* is another of that alliance. It seems to have been this gentleman's fortune to have learned his divinity from his uncle, and his politicks from his tutor [b]. It may be thought a blemish in his character, that he hath much fallen from the height of those republican principles with which he began; for in his father's life-time, while he was a member of the house of commons, he would often among his familiar friends refuse the title of Lord (as he hath done to myself), swear he would never be called otherwise than *Charles Spencer*, and hoped to see the day when there should not be a peer in *England*. His understanding, at the best, is of the middling size; neither hath he much improved it, either in reality, or, which is very unfortunate, even in the opinion of the world, by an over-grown library. It is hard to decide, whether he learned that rough way of treating his sovereign from the lady he is allied to, or whether it be the result of his own nature. The sense of the injuries he hath done, renders him (as it is very natural) implacable towards those to whom he hath given greatest cause to complain; for which reason he will never forgive either the queen or the present treasurer.

[b] Dr. *Trimnel*, since Bishop of *Winton*.

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The earl of *Wharton* hath filled the province allotted him by his colleagues, with sufficiency equal to the ablest of them all. He hath imbibed his father's [b] principles in government, but dropt his religion, and took up no other in its stead: excepting that circumstance he is a firm Presbyterian. He is perfectly skilled in all the arts of managing at elections, as well as in large baits of pleasure for making converts of young men of quality, upon their first appearance; in which public service he contracted such large debts, that his brethren were forced, out of mere justice, to leave *Ireland* at his mercy, where he had only time to set himself right. Although the graver heads of his party think him too profligate and abandoned, yet they dare not be ashamed of him; for, besides his talents above-mentioned, he is very useful in parliament, being a ready speaker, and content to employ his gift upon such occasions where those who conceive they have any remainder of reputation or modesty are ashamed to appear. In short, he is an uncontestable instance to discover the true nature of faction; since, being over-run with every quality which produceth contempt and hatred in all other commerce of the world, he hath notwithstanding been able to make so considerable a figure.

The lord *Cowper*, although his merits are later than the rest, deserveth a rank in this great council. He was considerable in the station of a practising

[b] The earl, his father, was a rigid Presbyterian:

lawyer; but as he was raised to be a chancellor and a peer, without passing through any of the intermediate steps, which in late times had been the constant practice, and little skilled in the nature of government, or the true interest of princes, further than the municipal or common law of *England*; his abilities, as to foreign affairs, did not equally appear in the council. Some former passages of his life were thought to disqualify him for that office, by which he was to be the guardian of the queen's conscience; but these difficulties were easily over-ruled by the authors of his promotion, who wanted a person that would be subservient to all their designs, wherein they were not disappointed. As to his other accomplishments, he was what we usually call a piece of a scholar, and a good logical reasoner, if this were not too often allayed by a fallacious way of managing an argument, which made him apt to deceive the unwary, and sometimes to deceive himself.

The last to be spoken of in this list is the earl of *Nottingham*, a convert and acquisition to that party since their fall, to which he contributed his assistance, I mean his words, and probably his wishes; for he had always lived under the constant visible profession of principles, directly opposite to those of his new friends: his vehement and frequent speeches against admitting the prince of *Orange* to the throne, are yet to be seen; and although a numerous family gave a specious pretence to his love of power and money, for taking an employment under

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that monarch ; yet he was allowed to have always kept a reserve of allegiance to his exiled master, of which his friends produce several instances, and some while he was secretary of state to king *William*. His outward regularity of life, his appearance of religion, and seeming zeal for the church, as they are an effect, so they are the excuse for that stiffness and formality with which his nature is fraught. His adust complexion disposeth him to rigour and severity, which his admirers palliate with the name of zeal. No man had ever a sincerer countenance, or more truly representing his mind and manners. He hath some knowledge in the law, very amply sufficient to defend his property at least : a facility of utterance, descended to him from his father, and improved by a few sprinklings of literature, hath brought himself, and some few admirers, into an opinion of his eloquence. He is every way inferior to his brother *Guernsey*, but chiefly in those talents which he most values and pretends to ; over whom, nevertheless, he preserveth an ascendant. His great ambition was to be the head of those who were called the church-party ; and, indeed, his grave solemn deportment and countenance, seconded by abundance of professions for their service, had given many of them an opinion of his veracity, which he interpreted as their sense of his judgement and wisdom ; and this mistake lasted till the time of his defection, of which it was partly the cause : but then it plainly appeared, that he had not credit

dit to bring over one single profelyte, to keep himself in countenance.

These lineaments, however imperfectly drawn, may help the reader's imagination to conceive what sort of persons those were, who had the boldness to encounter the queen and ministry, at the head of a great majority of the landed interest; and this upon a point, where the quiet of her majesty's reign, the security, or at least the freedom, of her person, the lives of her most faithful friends, and the settling of the nation by a peace, were, in the consequences, deeply concerned.

During the dominion of the late men in power, addresses had been procured from both houses to the queen, representing their opinion, that no peace could be secure for *Britain*, while *Spain* or the *West-Indies* remained in the possession of the *Bourbon* family: but her majesty having, for reasons which have been often told to the world, and which will not soon be forgotten, called a new parliament, and chose a new sett of servants, began to view things and persons in another light. She considered the necessities of her people, the distant prospect of a peace upon such an improbable condition, which was never mentioned or understood in the grand alliance; the unequal burthen she bore in the war, by the practices of the allies upon the corruption of some whom she most trusted, or perhaps by the practices of these upon the allies; and, lastly, by the changes which death had brought about in the *Austrian* and *Bourbon* families. Upon all which

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motives, she was prevailed upon to receive some overtures from *France*, in behalf of herself and the whole confederacy. The several steps of this negotiation, from its first rise to the time I am now writing, shall be related in another part of this History. Let it suffice for the present to say, that such proposals were received from *France* as were thought sufficient by our court whereupon to appoint time and place for a general treaty; and soon after the opening of the session, the bishop of [i] *Bristol*, lord privy-seal, was dispatched to *Utrecht*, where he and the earl of *Strafford* were appointed plenipotentiaries for the queen of *Great Britain*.

The managers of the discontented party, who, during the whole summer, had observed the motions of the court running fast towards a peace, began to gather up all their forces, in order to oppose her majesty's designs, when the parliament should meet. Their only strength was in the house of lords, where the queen had a very crazy majority, made up by those whose hearts were in the other interest; but whose fears, expectations, or immediate dependence, had hitherto kept them within bounds. There were two lords, upon whose abilities and influence, of a very different nature, the managers built their strongest hopes. The first was the duke of *Somerset*, master of the horse. This duke, as well as his duchess, was in a good degree of favour with the queen, upon the score of some civilities and respects her majesty had received from

[i] Dr *Robinson*, afterwards bishop of *London*.

them,

them, while she was princess. For some years after the Revolution, he never appeared at court, but was looked upon as a favourer of the abdicated family; and it was the late earl of *Rochester* who first presented him to king *William*. However, since the time he came into employment, which was towards the close of the last reign, he hath been a constant zealous member of the other party; but never failed in either attendance or respect towards the queen's person, or, at most, only threatened sometimes, that he would serve no longer, while such or such men were employed; which, as things went then, was not reckoned any offence at all against duty or good behaviour. He had been much caressed and flattered by the lords of the *Juncto* [k], who sometimes went so far as to give him hopes of the crown, in reversion to his family, upon failure of the house of *Hanover*. All this worked so far upon his imagination, that he affected to appear the head of their party, to which his talents were no way proportioned; for they soon grew weary of his indigested schemes, and his imperious manner of obtruding them: they began to drop him at their meetings, or contradicted him, with little ceremony, when he happened to be there, which his haughty nature was not able to brook. Thus a mortal quarrel was kindled between him and the whole assembly of party-leaders; so that, upon the queen's first intentions of changing her ministry, soon after the tryal of Dr. *Sacheverel*,

[k] A cant name given to five Lords of that party.

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he appointed several meetings with Mr. *Harley* alone, in the most private manner, in places and at times least liable to suspicion. He employed all his credit with the queen to drive on the removal of my lord *Godolphin*, and the rest; and, in the council, treated the small remainder, who continued some time longer in their places, with all possible marks of hatred or disdain. But when the question came for dissolving the parliament, he stopt short: he had already satiated his resentments, which were not against things, but persons: he furiously opposed that counsel, and promised to undertake for the parliament himself. When the queen had declared her pleasure for the dissolution, he flew off in greater rage than ever; opposed the court in all elections, where he had influence or power; and made very humble advances to reconcile himself with the discarded lords, especially the earl of *Godolphin*, who is reported to have treated him at *Newmarket* in a most contemptuous manner. But the sincerity of his repentance, which appeared manifestly in the first session of the new parliament, and the use he might be of by his own remaining credit, or rather that of his duchess, with the queen, at length begat a reconciliation. He still kept his employment, and place in the cabinet-council; but had never appeared there, from an avowed dislike of all persons and proceedings. It happened, about the end of summer, 1711, at *Windsor*, when the cabinet-council was summoned, this duke, whether by directions from his teachers, or the instability of his nature, took a fancy

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fancy to resume his place, and a chair was brought accordingly ; upon which Mr. secretary *St. John* refused to assist, and gave his reasons, that he would never sit in council with a man who had so often betrayed them, and was openly engaged with a faction which endeavoured to obstruct all her majesty's measures. Thus the council was put off to next day, and the duke made no farther attempts to be there. But, upon this incident, he declared open war against the ministry, and, from that time to the session, employed himself in spiriting up several depending lords to adhere to their friends, when an occasion should offer. The arguments he made use of, were, that those in power designed to make an ignominious and unsecure peace, without consulting the allies ; that this could be no otherwise prevented than by an address from the Lords, to signify their opinion, that no peace could be honourable or secure, while *Spain* or the *West-Indies* remained in any of the *Bourbon* family : upon which several farther resolutions and inquiries would naturally follow ; that the differences between the two houses, upon this point, must either be made up by the commons agreeing with the lords, or must end in a dissolution, which would be followed by a return of the old ministry, who, by the force of money and management, could easily get another parliament to their wishes. He farther assured them boldly, that the queen herself was at the bottom of this design, and had empowered him to desire their votes against the peace, as a point that
would

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would be for her service ; and therefore, they need not be in pain upon account of their pensions, or any farther marks of favour they expected. Thus, by reviving the old art of using her majesty's authority against her person, he prevailed over some, who were not otherwise in a station of life to oppose the crown ; and his profelytes may pretend to some share of pity, since he offered for an argument his own example, who kept his place and favour, after all he had done deserved the loss of both.

The other lord, in whom the discontented managers placed much of their hopes, was the earl of *Nottingham*, already mentioned ; than whom no man ever appeared to hate them more, or to be more pleased at their fall, partly from his avowed principles, but chiefly from the hopes he had of sharing in their spoils. But it fell out, that he was no way acceptable to the queen or her new servants : these apprehended no little trouble and impediment to the public business, from his restless, talkative, overweening manner, if once he was suffered to have any part in affairs ; and he stood very ill with the court, having made a motion in the house of lords, and in her majesty's presence, that the electoral prince of *Hanover* might be invited to reside in *England*, although he had before declared to the queen how much he was against that proposal, when it was first offered by the other party. However, some very considerable employments had been given to his nearest relations ;

ons; and he had one or two offers for himself, which he thought fit to refuse, as not equal to his merits and character. Upon the earl of *Rochester's* decease, he conceived that the crown would hardly overlook him for president of the council, and deeply resented that disappointment. But the duke of *Newcastle*, Lord privy-seal, dying some time after, he found that office was first designed for the earl of *Jersey*, and, upon this lord's sudden death, was actually disposed of to the bishop of *Bristol*: by which he plainly saw, that the queen was determined against giving him any opportunity of directing in affairs, or displaying his eloquence in the cabinet-council. He had now shaken off all remains of patience or temper; and, from the contemplation of his own disappointments, fell, as it is natural, to find fault with the public management, and to assure his neighbours in the country, that the nation was in imminent danger of being ruined. The discontented lords were soon apprised of this great change; and the duke of *Roxborough*, the earl's son-in-law, was dispatched to *Burleigh on the Hill*, to cultivate his present dispositions, and offer him whatever terms he pleased to insist on. The earl immediately agreed to fall in with any measures for distressing or destroying the ministry: but, in order to preserve his reputation with the church-party, and perhaps bring them over to his interests, he proposed, that a bill should be brought into the house of lords for preventing occasional conformity, and be unanimously agreed to by all the peers of the low-church

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church principle, which would convince the world of their good intentions to the established religion; and that their oppositions to the court wholly proceeded from their care of the nation, and concern for its honour and safety.

These preparations were public enough, and the ministers had sufficient time to arm themselves; but they seem to have acted, in this juncture, like men who trusted to the goodness of their cause, and the general inclinations of the kingdom, rather than to those arts which our corruptions have too often made necessary. Calculations were indeed taken, by which it was computed, that there would be a majority of ten upon the side of the court. I remember to have told my lord *Harcourt*, and Mr. *Prior*, that a majority of ten was only a majority of five, because if their adversaries could bring off five, the number would be equal: and so it happened to prove; for the mistake lay in counting upon the bare promises of those who were wholly in the interest of the old ministry, and were only kept in awe by the fear of offending the crown, and losing their subsistence, wherein the duke of *Somerset* had given them full satisfaction.

With these dispositions of both parties, and fears and hopes of the event, the parliament met upon the 7th of *December*, 1711. The queen's speech (excepting what related to supplies) was chiefly taken up in telling both houses what progress she had made towards a general peace, and her hopes of
bringing

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bringing it to a speedy conclusion. As soon as her majesty was withdrawn, the house of lords, in a committee, resolved upon an address of thanks; to which the earl of *Nottingham* proposed an addition of the following clause :

“ And we do beg leave to represent it to your majesty, as the humble opinion and advice of this house, that no peace can be safe or honourable to *Great Britain* and *Europe*, if *Spain* and the *West-Indies* are to be allotted to any branch of the house of *Bourbon*.”

He was seconded by the earl of *Scarborough*; and, after a debate of several hours, the question for the clause was carried, as I remember, by not above two voices. The next day, the house agreed with the committee. The depending lords (having taken fresh courage from their principals, and some who professed themselves very humble servants to the present ministry, and enemies to the former) went along with the stream, pretending not to see the consequences that must visibly follow. The address was presented on the eleventh, to which her majesty's answer was short and dry. She distinguished their thanks from the rest of the piece; and, in return to lord *Nottingham's* clause, said, she should be sorry that any body could think she would not do her utmost to recover *Spain* and the *West-Indies* from the house of *Bourbon*.

Upon the 15th of *December*, the earl of *Nottingham* likewise brought in the bill to prevent occasional conformity (although under a disguised title);

which met with no opposition ; but was swallowed by those very lords, who always appeared with the utmost violence against the least advantage to the established church.

But in the house of commons there appeared a very different spirit ; for when one Mr. *Robert Walpole* offered a clause of the same nature with that of the earl of *Nottingham*, it was rejected with contempt by a very great majority. Their address was in the most dutiful manner, approving of what her majesty had done towards a peace, and trusting intirely to her wisdom in the future management of it. This address was presented to the queen a day before that of the lords, and received an answer distinguishedly gracious. But the other party was no ways discouraged by either answer, which they looked upon as only matter of course, and the sense of the ministry, contrary to that of the queen.

The parliament sat as long as the approaching festival would allow ; and upon the 22d, the land-tax and occasional bills having received the royal assent, the house of commons adjourned to the 14th of *January* following : but the adjournment of the lords was only to the 2d, the prevailing party there being in haste to pursue the consequences of the earl of *Nottingham's* clause, which they hoped would end in the ruin of the treasurer, and overthrow the ministry ; and therefore took the advantage of this interval, that they might not be disturbed by the commons.

When

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When this address against any peace without *Spain*, &c. was carried in the house of lords, it is not easy to describe the effects it had upon most mens passions. The partisans of the old ministry triumphed loudly, and without any reserve, as if the game were their own. The earl of *Wharton* was observed in the house to smile, and put his hands to his neck when any of the ministry was speaking, by which he would have it understood that some heads were in danger. *Parker*, the chief-justice, began already with great zeal and officiousness to prosecute authors and printers of weekly and other papers, writ in defence of the administration: in short, joy and vengeance sat visible in every countenance of that party.

On the other side, all well-wishers to the queen, the church, or the peace, were equally dejected; and the treasurer stood the foremost mark both of his enemies fury, and the censure of his friends: among the latter, some imputed this fatal miscarriage to his procrastinating nature; others, to his unmeasurable public thrift: both parties agreed, that a first minister, with very moderate skill in affairs, might easily have governed the event: and some began to doubt, whether the great fame of his abilities, acquired in other stations, were what he justly deserved: all this he knew well enough, and heard it with great phlegm; neither did it make any alteration in his countenance or humour. He told Monsieur *Buys*, th *Dutch* envoy, two days before the parliament sat, that he was sorry for

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what was like to pass, because the States would be the first sufferers, which he desired the envoy to remember : and to his nearest friends, who appeared in pain about the publick or themselves, he only said that all would be well, and desired them not to be frightened.

It was, I conceive, upon these motives, that the treasurer advised her majesty to create twelve new lords, and thereby disable the sting of faction for the rest of her life-time : this promotion was so ordered, that a third part were of those on whom, or their posterity, the peerage would naturally devolve ; and the rest were such, whose merit, birth, and fortune, could admit of no exception.

The adverse party, being thus driven down by open force, had nothing left but to complain, which they loudly did ; that it was a pernicious example set for ill princes to follow, who, by the same rule, might make at any time an hundred as well as twelve, and by these means become masters of the house of lords whenever they pleased, which would be dangerous to our liberties. To this it was answered, that ill princes seldom trouble themselves to look for precedents ; that men of great estates will not be less fond of preserving their liberties when they are created peers ; that in such a government as this, where the prince holds the balance between two great powers, the nobility and people, it is the very nature of his office to remove from one scale into the other, or sometimes

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put his own weight in the lightest, so as to bring both to an equilibrium; and lastly, that the other party had been above twenty years corrupting the nobility with republican principles, which nothing but the royal prerogative could hinder from over-spreading us.

The conformity-bill above-mentioned was prepared by the earl of *Nottingham* before the parliament met, and brought in at the same time with the clause against peace, according to the bargain made between him and his new friends: this, he hoped, would not only save his credit with the church-party, but bring them over to his politicks, since they must needs be convinced, that, instead of changing his own principles, he had prevailed on the greatest enemies to the established religion to be the first movers in a law for the perpetual settlement of it. Here it was worth observing, with what resignation the *Juncto* Lords (as they were then called) were submitted to by their adherents and followers; for it is well known, that the chief among the dissenting teachers in town were consulted upon this affair, and such arguments used, as had power to convince them, that nothing could be of greater advantage to their cause than the passing this bill. I did, indeed, see a letter at that time from one of them to a great [1] man, complaining that they were betrayed and undone by their pretended friends; but they were in general

[1] It was to the Treasurer himself.

very well satisfied upon promises that this law should soon be repealed, and others more in their favour enacted, as soon as their friends should be re-established.

But nothing seemed more extraordinary than the event of this refined management, by which the earl of *Nottingham* was so far from bringing over proselytes (wherein his abilities fell very short even of the Duke of *Somerset's*) or preserving the reputation of a firm churchman, that very few people did so much as imagine he had any such design; only when he brought in the bill, they conceived it was some wonderful deep reach of politicks, which they could not comprehend; however, they liked the thing, and without troubling themselves about the persons or motives from whence it rose, it had a very speedy passage through both houses. It must be confessed, that some attempt of this nature was much more necessary to the leaders of that party, than is generally thought. The desire of power and revenge was common to them all; but several among them were also conscious that they stood in need of protection, whose safety was therefore concerned in the design of ruining the ministry, as well as their ambition. The duke of *Marlborough* foresaw those examinations, which were afterwards made into some parts of his management, and was apprehensive of a great deal more; that the parliament would perhaps enquire into the particulars of the negociation at the *Hague* in 1709; for what ends, and by whose advice, the propositions of peace from *France* were rejected:

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rejected: besides, he dreaded lest that mysterious policy might be laid open to the world, of desiring the queen to constitute him General for life, which was a very tender point, and would admit of much proof. It is true, indeed, that whilst the duke affair was under the consideration of the house of commons, one of his creatures [m] (whether by direction or otherwise) assured the speaker, with a very serious countenance, that the world was mistaken in censuring his lord upon this article; for it was the queen who pressed the duke to accept that commission; and upon his humble refusal conceived her first displeasure against him. How such a defence would have passed, if it had been offered in form, is easier to be conceived, than how any person in his wits could have the confidence to affirm it; which last would indeed be hard to believe, if there were any room left for doubt.

The earl of *Godolphin* wanted protection, notwithstanding the act of general pardon, which had been procured by his credit, and was principally calculated for his own security. He knew that his long neglect of compelling the accomptants to pass their accompts, might be punished as a breach of trust. He had run the kingdom into immense debts, by taking up stores for the navy upon a vast discount, without parliamentary security; for which he could be able to plead neither law nor necessity: and he had given way, at least, to some proceed-

[m] *Craggs*, father to the Secretary.

ings, not very justifiable, in relation to remittances of money, whereby the publick had suffered considerable losses. The Barrier-treaty sat heavy upon the lord *Townsend's* spirits, because, if it should be laid before the house of commons, whoever negotiated that affair might be subject to the most severe animadversions : and the earl of *Wharton's* administration in *Ireland* was looked upon as a sufficient ground to impeach him, at least, for high crimes and misdemeanors.

The managers in *Holland* were sufficiently apprized of all this ; and Monsieur *Buys*, their minister here, took care to cultivate that good correspondence between his masters and their *English* friends, which became two confederates pursuing the same end.

This man had been formerly employed in *England* from that republick, and understood a little of our language. His proficiency in learning has been such, as to furnish now and then a *Latin* quotation, of which he is as liberal as his stock will admit. His knowledge in government reaches no farther than that of his own country, by which he forms and cultivates matters of state for the rest of the world. His reasonings upon politicks are with great profusion at all meetings ; and he leaves the company with entire satisfaction that he hath fully convinced them. He is well provided with that inferior sort of cunning, which is the growth of his country, of a standard with the genius of the people, and capable of being transferred into every condition

dition of life among them, from the Boor to the Burgomaster. He came into *England* with instructions authorising him to accommodate all differences between her majesty and the States; but having first advised with the confederate lords, he assured the ministry he had powers to hear their proposals, but none to conclude: and having represented to his masters what had been told him by the adverse party, he prevailed with them to revoke his powers. He found the interest of those who withstood the court, would exactly fall in with the designs of the States, which were to carry on the war as they could, at our expence, and to see themselves at the head of a treaty of peace, whenever they were disposed to apply to *France*, or to receive overtures from thence.

The Emperor, upon many powerful reasons, was utterly averse from all councils which aimed at putting an end to the war, without delivering him the whole dominion of *Spain*; nay, the elector of *Hanover* himself, although presumptive heir to the crown of *England*, and obliged by all sorts of ties to cultivate her majesty's friendship, was so far deceived by misrepresentations from hence, that he seemed to suffer Monsieur *Bothmar*, his envoy here, to print and publish a memorial in *English*, directly disapproving all her majesty's proceedings; which memorial, as appeareth by the style and manner of it, was all drawn up, or at least digested, by some party-pen on this side of the water.

Cautious writers, in order to avoid offence or danger, and to preserve the respect even due to foreign

reign princes, do usually charge the wrong steps in a court altogether upon the persons employed ; but I should have taken a securer method, and have been wholly silent in this point, if I had not then conceived some hope, that his electoral highness might possibly have been a stranger to the memorial of his resident : for, first, the manner of delivering it to the secretary of state was out of all form, and almost as extraordinary as the thing itself. Monsieur *Bothmar*, having obtained an hour of Mr. secretary *St. John*, talked much to him upon the subject of which that memorial consists ; and upon going away, desired he might leave a paper with the secretary, which he said contained the substance of what he had been discoursing. This paper Mr. *St. John* laid aside, among others of little consequence ; and a few days after saw a memorial in print, which he found upon comparing to be the same with what *Bothmar* had left.

During this short recess of parliament, and upon the 5th day of *January*, prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* landed in *England*. Before he left his ship, he asked a person who came to meet him, whether the new lords were made, and what was their number ? He was attended through the streets with a mighty rabble of people to *St. James's*, where Mr. secretary *St. John* introduced him to the queen, who received him with great civility. His arrival had been long expected, and the project of his journey had as long been formed here by the party-leaders, in concert with monsieur *Buys* and monsieur *Bothmar*, the *Dutch*
and

and *Hanover* envoys. This prince brought over credentials from the emperor, with offers to continue the war upon a new foot, very advantageous to *Britain*; part of which, by her majesty's commands, Mr. *St. John* soon after produced to the house of commons, where they were rejected, not without some indignation, by a great majority. The emperor's proposals, as far as they related to *Spain*, were communicated to the house in the words following :

“ His imperial majesty judges that forty thousand
 “ men will be sufficient for this service ; and that
 “ the whole expence of the war in *Spain* may
 “ amount to four millions of crowns, towards which
 “ his imperial majesty offers to make up the troops,
 “ which he has in that country, to thirty thousand
 “ men, and to take one million of crowns upon
 “ himself.”

On the other side, the house of commons voted a third part of those four millions as a sufficient quota for her majesty toward that service ; for it was supposed the emperor ought to bear the greatest proportion in a point that so nearly concerned him ; or at least, that *Britain* contributing one third, the other two might be paid by his imperial majesty and the States, as they could settle it between them.

The design of prince *Eugene's* journey, was to raise a spirit in the parliament and people for continuing the war ; for nothing was thought impossible to a prince of such high reputation in arms, in great favour with the emperor, and impowered to make
 such

such proposals from his master, as the ministry durst not reject. It appeared by an intercepted letter from count *Gallas* (formerly the emperor's envoy here), that the prince was wholly left to his liberty of making what offers he pleased in the emperor's name; for if the parliament could once be brought to raise funds, and the war go on, the ministry here must be under a necessity of applying and expending those funds; and the emperor could afterwards find twenty reasons and excuses, as he had hitherto done, for not furnishing his quota: therefore prince *Eugene*, for some time, kept himself within generals, until, being pressed to explain himself upon that particular of the war in *Spain*, which the house of *Austria* pretended to have most at heart, he made the offer above-mentioned, as a most extraordinary effort; and so it was, considering how little they had ever done before, towards recovering that monarchy to themselves: but, shameful as these proposals were, few believed the emperor would observe them, or, indeed, that he ever intended to spare so many men as would make up an army of thirty thousand men, to be employed in *Spain*.

Prince *Eugene's* visit to his friends in *England* continued longer than was expected; he was every day entertained magnificently by persons of quality of both parties; he went frequently to the treasurer, and sometimes affected to do it in private; he visited the other ministers and great officers of the court, but on all occasions publicly owned the character and appellation of a Whig; and, in secret,
held

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held continual meetings with the duke of *Marlborough*, and the other discontented lords, where M. *Bothmar* usually assisted. It is the great ambition of this prince to be perpetually engaged in war, without considering the cause or consequence; and to see himself at the head of an army, where only he can make any considerable figure. He is not without a natural tincture of that cruelty, some time charged upon the *Italians*; and being nursed in arms, has so far extinguished pity and remorse, that he will at any time sacrifice a thousand mens lives, to a caprice of glory or revenge. He had conceived an incurable hatred for the treasurer, as the person who principally opposed this insatiable passion for war; said he had hopes of others, but that the treasurer was *un mechant diable*, not to be moved; therefore, since it was impossible for him or his friends to compass their designs, while that minister continued at the head of affairs, he proposed an expedient, often practised by those of his country, that the treasurer (to use his own expression) should be taken off, *à la negligence*; that this might easily be done, and pass for an effect of chance, if it were preceded by encouraging some proper people to commit small riots in the night: and in several parts of the town, a crew of obscure ruffians were accordingly employed about that time, who probably exceeded their commission; and mixing themselves with those disorderly people that often infest the streets at midnight, acted inhuman outrages on many persons, whom they cut and mangled

gled in the face and arms, and other parts of the body, without any provocation; but an effectual stop was soon put to those enormities, which probably prevented the execution of the main design.

I am very sensible, that such an imputation ought not to be charged upon any person whatsoever, upon slight grounds or doubtful surmises; and that those who think I am able to produce no better, will judge this passage to be fitter for a libel than a history; but as the account was given by more than one person who was at the meeting, so it was confirmed past all contradiction by several intercepted letters and papers: and it is most certain, that the rage of the defeated party, upon their frequent disappointments, was so far inflamed, as to make them capable of some counsels yet more violent and desperate than this, which, however, by the vigilance of those near the person of her majesty, were happily prevented.

On the 30th day of *December*, 1711, the duke of *Marlborough* was removed from all his employments: the duke of *Ormond* succeeding him as general, both here and in *Flanders*. This proceeding of the court (as far as it related to the duke of *Marlborough*) was much censured both at home and abroad, and by some who did not wish ill to the present situation of affairs. There were few examples of a commander being disgraced, after an uninterrupted course of success for many years against a formidable enemy, and this before a period

was

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was put to the war: those who had least esteem for his valour and conduct, thought it not prudent to remove a general, whose troops were perpetually victorious, while he was at their head; because this had infused into his soldiers an opinion that they should always conquer, and into the enemy that they should always be beaten; than which nothing is held to be of greater moment, either in the progress of a war or upon the day of battle; and I have good grounds to affirm, that these reasons had sufficient weight with the queen and ministry to have kept the duke of *Marlborough* in his post, if a way could have been found out to have done it with any assurance of safety to the nation. It is the misfortune of princes, that the effects of their displeasure make usually much more noise than the causes: thus, the sound of the duke's fall was heard farther than many of the reasons which made it necessary; whereof though some were visible enough, yet others lay more in the dark. Upon the duke's last return from *Flanders*, he had fixed his arrival to town (whether by accident or otherwise) upon the 17th of *November*, called queen *Elizabeth's* day, when great numbers of his creatures and admirers had thought fit to revive an old ceremony among the rabble, of burning the pope in effigy; for the performance of which with more solemnity, they had made extraordinary preparations. From the several circumstances of the expence of this intended pageantry, and of the persons who promoted it, the court,

apprehensive of a design to inflame the common people, thought fit to order, that the several figures should be seized as popish trinkets, and guards were ordered to patrol, for preventing any tumultuous assemblies. Whether this frolick were only intended for an affront to the court, or whether it had a deeper meaning, I must leave undetermined. The duke, in his own nature, is not much turned to be popular; and in his flourishing times, whenever he came back to *England* upon the close of a campaign, he rather affected to avoid any concourse of the mob, if they had been disposed to attend him; therefore so very contrary a proceeding at this juncture, made it suspected as if he had a design to have placed himself at their head. *France*, popery, the pretender, peace without *Spain*, were the words to be given about at this mock-parade; and if what was confidently asserted be true, that a report was to have been spread at the same time of the queen's death, no man can tell what might have been the event.

But this attempt, to whatever purposes intended, proving wholly abortive by the vigilance of those in power, the duke's arrival was without any noise or consequence; and upon consulting with his friends, he soon fell in with their new scheme for preventing the peace. It was believed by many persons, that the ministers might, with little difficulty, have brought him over, if they had pleased to make a trial; for as he would probably have accepted any

terms

terms to continue in a station of such prodigious profit, so there was sufficient room to work upon his fears, of which he is seldom unprovided (I mean only in his political capacity), and his infirmity very much increased by his unmeasurable possessions, which have rendered him, *ipsique onerique timentem*; but reason, as well as the event, proved this to be a mistake: for the ministers, being determined to bring the war to as speedy an issue as the honour and safety of their country would permit, could not possibly recompense the duke for the mighty incomes he held by the continuance of it. Then the other party had calculated their numbers; and by the accession of the earl of *Nottingham*, whose example they hoped would have many followers, and the successful solicitations of the duke of *Somerset*, found they were sure of a majority in the house of lords: so that, in this view of circumstances, the duke of *Marlborough* thought he acted with security, as well as advantage: he therefore boldly fell, with his whole weight, into the design of ruining the ministry at the expence of his duty to his sovereign, and the welfare of his country, after the mighty obligations he had received from both. Whig and Tory were now no longer the dispute, but the queen or the duke of *Marlborough*: he was at the head of all the cabals and consults with *Bothmar*, *Buys*, and the discontented lords. He forgot that government of his passion, for which his ad-

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mirers used to celebrate him, fell into all the impotences of anger and violence upon every party-debate : so that the queen found herself under a necessity, either, on the one side, to sacrifice those friends, who had ventured their lives in rescuing her out of the power of some, whose former treatment she had little reason to be fond of, to put an end to the progress she had made towards a peace, and dissolve her parliament ; or, on the other side, by removing one person from so great a trust, to get clear of all her difficulties at once : her majesty therefore determined upon the latter, as the shorter and safer course ; and, during the recess at *Christmas*, sent the duke a letter, to tell him she had no farther occasion for his service.

There hath not perhaps in the present age been a clearer instance to shew the instability of greatness which is not founded upon virtue ; and it may be an instruction to princes, who are well in the hearts of their people, that the overgrown power of any particular person, although supported by exorbitant wealth, can by a little resolution be reduced in a moment, without any dangerous consequences. This lord, who was, beyond all comparison, the greatest subject in Christendom, found his power, credit, and influence, crumble away on a sudden ; and, except a few friends or followers by inclination, the rest dropt off in course. From directing in some manner the affairs of *Europe*, he descended to be a member of a faction, and
with

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with little distinction even there : that virtue of subduing his resentments, for which he was so famed when he had little or no occasion to exert it, having now wholly forsaken him when he stood most in need of its assistance ; and, upon trial, was found unable to bear a reverse of fortune, giving way to rage, impatience, envy, and discontent.

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
FOUR LAST YEARS
OF THE
Q U E E N.
BOOK II.

THE house of lords met upon the 2d day of *January*, according to their adjournment ; but, before they could proceed to business, the twelve new-created peers were, in the usual form, admitted to their seats in that assembly, who, by their numbers, turned the balance on the side of the court, and voted an adjournment to the same day with the commons. Upon the 14th of *January*, the two houses met ; but the queen, who intended to be there in person, sent a message to inform them, that she was prevented by a sudden return of the gout, and to desire they would adjourn for three days longer, when her majesty hoped she should be able to speak to them. However, her indisposition still continuing, Mr. secretary *St. John* brought another message to the house of commons

from the queen, containing the substance of what she intended to have spoken; that she could now tell them, her plenipotentiaries were arrived at *Utrecht*; had begun, in pursuance of her instructions, to concert the most proper ways of procuring a just satisfaction to all powers in alliance with her, according to their several treaties, and particularly with relation to *Spain* and the *West-Indies*; that she promised to communicate to them the conditions of peace, before the same should be concluded; that the world would now see how groundless those reports were, and without the least colour, that a separate peace had been treated; that her ministers were directed to propose, that a day might be fixed for the finishing, as was done for the commencement, of this treaty; and that, in the mean time, all preparations were hastening for an early campaign, &c.

Her majesty's endeavours towards this great work having been in such a forwardness at the time that her message was sent, I shall here, as in the most proper place, relate the several steps by which the intercourse between the courts of *France* and *Britain* was begun and carried on.

The marquis *De Torcy*, sent by the most christian king to the *Hague*, had there, in the year 1709, made very advantageous offers to the allies in his master's name; which our ministers, as well as those of the states, thought fit to refuse, and advanced other proposals in their stead, but of such a nature as no prince could digest, who did not lie at
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the immediate mercy of his enemies. It was demanded, among other things, that the *French* king should employ his own troops, in conjunction with those of the allies, to drive his grandson out of *Spain*. The proposers knew very well, that the enemy would never consent to this; and if it were possible they could at first have any such hopes, *Monf. de Torcy* assured them to the contrary, in a manner which might well be believed; for then the *British* and *Dutch* plenipotentiaries were drawing up their demands. They desired that minister to assist them in the style and expression, which he very readily did, and made use of the strongest words he could find to please them. He then insisted to know their last resolution, whether these were the lowest terms the allies would accept; and having received a determinate answer in the affirmative, he spoke to this effect.

“ That he thanked them heartily for giving him
 “ the happiest day he had ever seen in his life : that,
 “ in perfect obedience to his master, he had made
 “ concessions in his own opinion, highly derogatory to the king’s honour and interest : that he
 “ had not concealed the difficulties of his court,
 “ or the discontents of his country, by a long and
 “ unsuccessful war, which could only justify the
 “ large offers he had been impowered to make : that
 “ the conditions of peace, now delivered into his
 “ hands by the allies, would raise a new spirit in
 “ the nation, and remove the greatest difficulty
 “ the court lay under, putting it in his master’s

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“ power to convince all his subjects how earnestly
 “ his majesty desired to ease them from the burthen
 “ of the war ; but that his enemies would not ac-
 “ cept of any terms, which could consist either
 “ with their safety or his honour.” *Mons. de Torcy*
 assured the pensioner, in the strongest manner, and
 bid him count upon it, that the king his master
 would never sign those articles.

It soon appeared, that the *marquis de Torcy's* predictions were true ; for, upon delivering to his master the last resolutions of the allies, that prince took care to publish them all over his kingdom, as an appeal to his subjects against the unreasonableness and injustice of his enemies : which proceeding effectually answered the utmost he intended by it ; for the *French* nation, extremely jealous of their monarch's glory, made universal offers of their lives and fortunes, rather than submit to such ignominious terms ; and the clergy, in particular, promised to give the king their consecrated plate, towards continuing the war. Thus that mighty kingdom, generally thought to be wholly exhausted of its wealth, yet when driven to a necessity by the imprudence of the allies, or by the corruption of particular men, who influenced their councils, recovered strength enough to support itself for three following campaigns : and in the last, by the fatal blindness or obstinacy of the *Dutch* (venturing to act without the assistance of *Britain*, which they had shamefully abandoned), was an overmatch for the whole confederate army.

Those

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Those who, in order to defend the proceedings of the allies, have given an account of this negotiation, do wholly omit the circumstance I have now related, and express the zeal of the *British* and *Dutch* ministers for a peace, by informing us how frequently they sent after *Monf. de Torcy*, and *Monf. Rouille*, for a farther conference. But in the mean time *Mr. Horatio Walpole*, secretary to the queen's plenipotentiaries, was dispatched over hither, to have those abortive articles signed and ratified by her majesty at a venture, which was accordingly done. A piece of management altogether absurd, and without example; contrived only to deceive our people into a belief that a peace was intended, and to shew what great things the ministry designed to do.

But this hope expiring, upon the news that *France* had refused to sign those articles, all was solved by recourse to the old topick of the *French* perfidiousness. We loaded them plentifully with ignominious appellations; they were a nation never to be trusted. The parliament chearfully continued their supplies, and the war went on. The winter following began the second and last session of the preceding parliament, noted for the trial of *Dr. Sacheverel*, and the occasions thereby given to the people to discover and exert their dispositions, very opposite to the designs of those who were then in power. In the summer of 1710, ensued a gradual change of the ministry; and in the

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begining

beginning of that winter the present parliament was called.

The king of *France*, whose real interests made him sincerely desirous of any tolerable peace, found it impossible to treat upon equal conditions with either of the two maritime powers engaged against him, because of the prevalency of factions in both, who acted in concert to their mutual private advantage, although directly against the general dispositions of the people in either, as well as against their several maxims of government. But, upon the great turn of affairs and councils here in *England*, the new parliament and ministers acting from other motives, and upon other principles, that prince hoped an opportunity might arise of resuming his endeavours towards a peace.

There was at this time in *England* a *French* ecclesiastick, called the abbé *Gualtier*, who had resided several years in *London*, under the protection of some foreign ministers, in whose families he used upon occasion, to exercise his function of a priest. After the battle of *Blenheim*, this gentleman went down to *Nottingham*, where several *French* prisoners of quality were kept, to whom he rendered those offices of civility suitable to persons in their condition, which, upon their return to *France*, they reported to his advantage. Among the rest, the chevalier *de Croissy* told his brother, the marquis *de Torcy*, that whenever the *French* court would have a mind to make overtures of peace with *England*, *Monf. Gualtier* might be very usefully

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employed in handing them to the ministers here. This was no further thought on at present. In the mean time the war went on, and the conferences at the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg* miscarried, by the allies insisting upon such demands as they neither expected nor perhaps desired should be granted.

Some time in *July*, 1710, *Monf. Gualtier* received a letter from the marquis *de Torcy*, signifying, that a report being spread of her majesty's intentions to change her ministry, to take *Mr. Harley* into her councils, and to dissolve her parliament, the most christian king thought it might be now a favourable conjuncture to offer new proposals of a treaty: *Monf. Gualtier* was therefore directed to apply himself in the marquis's name, either to the duke of *Shrewsbury*, the earl of *Jersey*, or *Mr. Harley*, and inform the *French* court how such a proposition would be relished. *Gualtier* chose to deliver his message to the second of those, who had been ambassador from the late king to *France*; but the earl excused himself from entering into particulars with a stranger, and a private person, who had no authority for what he said, more than a letter from *Monf. de Torcy*. *Gualtier* offered to procure another from that minister to the earl himself; and did so, in a month after: but obtained no answer till *December* following, when the queen had made all necessary changes, and summoned a free parliament to her wishes. About the beginning of *January*, the abbé (after having procured his
dis-

dismission from count *Gallas*, the emperor's envoy, at that time his protector) was sent to *Paris*, to inform Mons. *Torcy*, that her Majesty would be willing his master should resume the treaty with *Holland*, provided the demands of *England* might be previously granted. *Gualtier* came back, after a short stay, with a return to his message, that the *Dutch* had used the most christian king and his ministers in such a manner, both at the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg*, as made that prince resolve not to expose himself any more to the like treatment; that he therefore chose to address himself to *England*, and was ready to make whatever offers her majesty could reasonably expect, for the advantage of her own kingdoms, and the satisfaction of her allies.

After this message had been duly considered by the queen and her ministers, Mons. *Gualtier* was dispatched a second time to *France*, about the beginning of *March*, 1710-11, with an answer to the following purpose: "That, since *France* had their particular reasons for not beginning again to treat with *Holland*, *England* was willing to remove that difficulty, and proposed it should be done in this manner: That *France* should send over hither the propositions for a treaty, which should be transmitted by *England* to *Holland*, to be jointly treated on that side of the water; but it was to be understood, that the same proposition formerly offered to *Holland*, was to be made to *England*, or one not less advantageous to the allies; for although *England* would enter most sincerely into such a treaty, and
shew,

shew, in the course of it, the clearness of their intentions ; yet they could not, with honour, entertain a less beneficial proposal than what was offered to the States."

That prince, as well as his minister, *Monf. de Torcy*, either felt, or affected, so much resentment of the usage the latter had met at the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg*, that they appeared fully determined against making any application to the States, where the same persons continued still in power, of whose treatment they so heavily complained. They seemed altogether to distrust the inclination of that republick towards a peace ; but, at the same time, shewed a mighty complaisance to the *English* nation, and a desire to have her majesty at the head of a treaty. This appears by the first overture in form sent from that kingdom, and signed by *Monf. de Torcy*, on the 22d of *April*, N. S. 1711, to the following effect :

" That, as it could not be doubted but the king
 " was in a condition of continuing the war with
 " honour, so it could not be looked on as a mark
 " of weakness in his majesty to break the silence
 " he had kept since the conferences at *Gertruyden-*
 " *berg* ; and that, before the opening of the cam-
 " paign, he now gives farther proof of the desire
 " he always had to procure the repose of *Europe*.
 " But, after what he hath found, by experience,
 " of the sentiments of those persons who now
 " govern the republick of *Holland*, and of their
 " industry in rendering all negotiations without
 " effect,

“ effect, his majesty will, for the public good, offer to the *English* nation those propositions, which he thinks fit to make for terminating the war, and for settling the tranquillity of *Europe* upon a solid foundation. It is with this view that he offers to enter into a treaty of peace, founded on the following conditions.

“ First, The *English* nation shall have real securities for carrying on their trade in *Spain*, the *Indies*, and ports of the *Mediterranean*.

“ Secondly, the king will consent to form a sufficient barrier in the Low Countries for the security of the republick of *Holland*; and this barrier shall be such as *England* shall agree upon and approve; his majesty promising, at the same time, an intire liberty and security to the trade of the *Dutch*.

“ Thirdly, All reasonable methods shall be thought on, with sincerity and truth, for giving satisfaction to the allies of *England* and *Holland*.

“ Fourthly, Whereas the affairs of the king of *Spain* are in so good a condition as to furnish new expedients for putting an end to the disputes about that monarchy, and for settling it to the satisfaction of the several parties concerned, all sincere endeavours shall be used for surmounting the difficulties arisen upon this occasion; and the trade and interest of all parties engaged in the present war shall be secured.

“ Fifthly, The conferences, in order to treat of a peace upon these conditions, shall be immediately

“mediately opened; and the plenipotentiaries,
 “whom the king shall name to assist thereat, shall
 “treat with those of *England* and *Holland*, either
 “alone or in conjunction with those of their allies,
 “as *England* shall chuse.

“Sixthly, his majesty proposes the towns of *Aix*
 “*la Chapelle* or *Liege* for the place where the pleni-
 “potentaries shall assemble, leaving the choice
 “likewise to *England* of either of the said towns,
 “wherein to treat of a general peace.”

These overtures, although expressing much confidence in the ministry here, great deference to the queen, and displeasure against the *Dutch*, were immediately transmitted by her majesty's command to her ambassador in *Holland*, with orders, that they should be communicated to the pensionary. The abbé *Gualtier* was desired to signify this proceeding to the marquis *de Torcy*; at the same time to let that minister understand, that some of the above articles ought to be explained. The lord *Raby*, now earl of *Strafford*, was directed to tell the pensionary, that her majesty being resolved, in making peace as in making war, to act in perfect concert with the states, would not lose a moment in transmitting to him a paper of this importance: that the queen earnestly desired, that the secret might be kept among as few as possible; and that she hoped the pensionary would advise upon this occasion with no person whatsoever, except such as, by the constitution of that government, are unavoidably necessary: that the terms of the several propositions were indeed too general;

neral; but, however, they contained an offer to treat : and that, although there appeared an air of complaisance to *England* through the whole paper, and the contrary to *Holland*, yet this could have no ill consequences, as long as the queen and the States took care to understand each other, and to act with as little reserve as became two powers so nearly allied in interest; which rule, on the part of *Britain*, should be inviolably observed. It was signified likewise to the pensionary, that the duke of *Marlborough* had no communication of this affair from *England*, and that it was supposed he would have none from the *Hague*.

After these proposals had been considered in *Holland*, the ambassador was directed to send back the opinion of the *Dutch* ministers upon them. The court here was, indeed, apprehensive, that the pensionary would be alarmed at the whole frame of *Monsieur de Torcy's* paper, and particularly at these expressions, that the *English* shall have real securities for their trade, &c. and that the barrier for the States-general shall be such as *England* shall agree upon and approve. It was natural to think, that the fear which the *Dutch* would conceive of our obtaining advantageous terms for *Britain*, might put them upon trying under-hand for themselves, and endeavouring to over-reach us in the management of the peace, as they had hitherto done in that of the war : the ambassador was therefore cautioned to be very watchful in discovering any workings, which might tend that way.

When

When the lord *Raby* was first sent to the *Hague*, the duke of *Marlbrough*, and lord *Townshend*, had, for very obvious reasons, used their utmost endeavours to involve him in as many difficulties as they could ; upon which, and other accounts, needless to mention, it was thought proper, that his grace, then in *Flanders*, should not be let into the secret of this affair.

The proposal of *Aix* or *Liege* for a place of treaty, was only a farther mark of their old discontent against *Holland*, to shew they would not name any town which belonged to the States.

The pensionary, having consulted those who had been formerly employed in the negotiations of peace, and enjoined them the utmost secrecy, to avoid the jealousy of the foreign ministers there, desired the ambassador to return her majesty thanks, for the obliging manner of communicating the *French* overtures, for the confidence she placed in the States, and for her promise of making no step towards a peace, but in concert with them ; assuring her of the like on their part : that, although the States endeavoured to hide it from the enemy, they were as weary of the war as we, and very heartily desirous of a good and lasting peace, as well as ready to join in any method, by which her majesty should think proper, to obtain it : that the States looked upon these propositions as very dark and general ; and they observed how the enemy would create jealousies between the queen, their re-

publick, and the other allies; but they were satisfied it would have no effect, and relied entirely on the justness and prudence of her majesty, who, they doubted not, would make the *French* explain themselves more particularly in the several points of their proposals, and send a plan of the particular conditions whereupon they would make a peace: after which, the States would be ready, either to join with her majesty, or to make their objections, and were prepared to bring with them all the facility imaginable, towards promoting so good a work.

This is the sum of the verbal answer made by the pensionary, upon communicating to him the *French* proposals; and I have chosen to set it down, rather than transcribe the other given to the ambassador some days after, which was more in form, and to the same purpose, but shorter, and in my opinion not so well discovering the true disposition of the *Dutch* ministers.

For after the queen had transmitted the *French* overtures to *Holland*, and the States found her majesty was bent in earnest upon the thoughts of a peace, they began to cast about how to get the negotiation into their own hands. They knew that whatever power received the first proposals, would be wise enough to stipulate something for themselves, as they had done in their own case, both at the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg*, where they carved as they pleased, without any regard to the interests of their nearest allies. For this reason, while they endeavoured to amuse the *British* court with expostulations

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tions upon the several preliminaries sent from *France*, Monsieur *Petecum*, a forward meddling agent of *Holstein*, who had resided some years in *Holland*, negotiated with *Hiensius*, the grand pensionary, as well as with *Vanderdussen* and *Buys*, about restoring the conferences between *France* and that republick, broke off in *Gerturydenberg*. Pursuant to which, about the end of *May*, N. S. 1711, *Petecum* wrote to the marquis *de Torcy*, with the privity of the pensionary, and probably of the other two. The substance of his letter was to inform the marquis, that things might easily be disposed, so as to settle a correspondence between that crown and the republick, in order to renew the treaty of peace. That this could be done with the greater secrecy, because Monsieur *Hiensius*, by virtue of his oath as pensionary, might keep any affair private as long as he thought necessary, and was not obliged to communicate it, until he believed things were ripe; and as long as he concealed it from his masters, he was not bound to discover it, either to the ministers of the emperor, or those of her *British* majesty. That, since *England* thought it proper for king *Charles* to continue the whole campaign in *Catalonia* (though he should be chosen emperor) in order to support the war in *Spain*, it was necessary for *France* to treat in the most secret manner with the States, who were not now so violently, as formerly, against having *Philip* on the *Spanish* throne, upon certain conditions for securing their trade, but were jealous of *England's* design to fortify some

trading towns in *Spain* for themselves. That *Hiensius* extremely desired to get out of the war, for some reasons, which he (*Petecum*) was not permitted to tell; and that *Vanderdussen* and *Buys* were impatient to have the negotiations with *France* once more set on foot, which if Monsieur *Torcy* thought fit to consent to, *Petecum* engaged that the States would determine to settle the preliminaries, in the midway between *Paris* and the *Hague*, with whatever ministers the most Christian king should please to employ. But Monsieur *Torcy* refused this overture, and in his answer to Monsieur *Petecum*, assigned for the reason the treatment his master's former proposals had met with at the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg*, from the ministers of *Holland*. *Britain* and *Holland* seemed pretty well agreed, that those proposals were too loose and imperfect to be a foundation for entering upon a general treaty; and Monsieur *Gualtier* was desired to signify to the *French* court, that it was expected they should explain themselves more particularly on the several articles.

But in the mean time the queen was firmly resolved, that the interests of her own kingdoms should not be neglected at this juncture, as they had formerly twice been, while the *Dutch* were principal managers of a negotiation with *France*. Her majesty had given frequent and early notice to the States, of the general disposition of her people towards a peace, of her own inability to continue the war upon the old foot, under the disadvantage of unequal quotas, and the universal backwardness

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of her allies. She had likewise informed them of several advances made to her on the side of *France*, which she had refused to hearken to, till she had consulted with those, her good friends and confederates, and heard their opinion on that subject: but the *Dutch*, who apprehended nothing more than to see *Britain* at the head of a treaty, were backward and sullen, disliked all proposals by the queen's intervention, and said it was a piece of artifice of *France* to divide the allies; besides, they knew the ministry was young, and the opposite faction had given them assurances, that the people of *England* would never endure a peace without *Spain*, nor the men in power dare to attempt it, after the resolutions of one house of parliament to the contrary. But, in the midst of this unwillingness to receive any overtures from *France* by the queen's hands, the *Dutch* ministers were actually engaged in a correspondence with that court, where they urged our inability to begin a treaty, by reason of those factions which themselves had inflamed, and were ready to commence a negotiation upon much easier terms than what they supposed we demanded. For, not to mention the duke of *Lorrain's* interposition in behalf of *Holland*, which *France* absolutely refused to accept; the letters sent from the *Dutch* to that court, were shewn some months after to a *British* minister there, which gave much weight to Monsieur de *Torcy's* insinuations; that he knew where to meet with more compliance, if the necessity of affairs should force him to it, by our refusal;

and the violence of the States against our entertaining of that correspondence, was only because they knew theirs would never be accepted, at least till ours were thrown off.

The queen, sensible of all this, resolved to provide for her own kingdoms; and having therefore prepared such demands for her principal allies, as might be a ground for proceeding to a general treaty, without pretending to adjust their several interests; she resolved to stipulate in a particular manner the advantage of *Britain*: the following preliminary demands were accordingly drawn up, in order to be transmitted to *France*.

“ *Great Britain* will not enter into any negotiation of peace, otherwise than upon these conditions, obtained before-hand.

“ That the union of the two crowns of *France* and *Spain* shall be prevented: that satisfaction shall be given to all the allies, and trade settled and maintained.”

“ If *France* be disposed to treat upon this view, it is not to be doubted, that the following propositions will be found reasonable.

“ A barrier shall be formed in the *Low Countries* for the States-general; and their trade shall be secured.

“ A barrier likewise shall be formed for the empire.

“ The pretensions of all the allies, founded upon former treaties, shall be regulated and determined to their general satisfaction.

“ In

“ In order to make a more equal balance of
 “ power in *Italy*, the dominions and territories,
 “ which in the beginning of the present war belong-
 “ ed to the duke of *Savoy*, and are now in the pos-
 “ session of *France*, shall be restored to his royal high-
 “ ness, and such other places in *Italy* shall be yielded
 “ to him, as will be found necessary and agreeable to
 “ the sense of former treaties made with this prince.

“ As to *Great Britain* in particular, the successi-
 “ on to the crown of the kingdoms, according to
 “ the present establishment, shall be acknow-
 “ ledged.

“ A new treaty of commerce between *Great*
 “ *Britain* and *France* shall be made, after the most
 “ just and reasonable manner.

“ *Dunkirk* shall be demolished; *Gibraltar* and
 “ *Port-Mahon* shall remain in the hands of the pre-
 “ sent possessors.

“ The *English* shall have the *Affiento* in the
 “ same manner the *French* now enjoy it; and such
 “ places in the *Spanish West-Indies* shall be assigned
 “ to those concerned in this traffick, for the refresh-
 “ ment and sale of their negroes, as shall be found
 “ necessary and convenient.

“ All advantages, rights, and privileges already
 “ granted, and which may hereafter be granted
 “ by *Spain* to the subjects of *France*, or to any other
 “ nation whatsoever, shall be equally granted to the
 “ subjects of *Great Britain*.

“ And for better securing the *British* trade in the
 “ *Spanish West-Indies*, certain places to be named

“ in the treaty of peace, shall be put into possession
 “ of the *English*.

“ *Newfoundland*, with the *Bay* and *Streights* of
 “ *Hudson*, shall be entirely restored to the *English*;
 “ and *Great Britain* and *France* shall severally keep
 “ and possess all those countries and territories in
 “ *North America*, which each of the said nations
 “ shall be in possession of at the time when the rati-
 “ fication of this treaty shall be published in those
 “ parts of the world.

“ These demands, and all other proceedings be-
 “ tween *Great Britain* and *France* shall be kept in-
 “ violably secret, until they are published by the
 “ mutual consent of both parties.”

The last article was not only intended for avoid-
 ing, if possible, the jealousy of the *Dutch*, but to
 prevent the clamours of the abettors here at home,
 who, under the pretended fears of our doing injus-
 tice to the *Dutch*, by acting without the privity of
 that republick, in order to make a separate peace,
 would be ready to drive on the worst designs against
 the queen and ministry, in order to recover the
 power they had lost.

In *June*, 1711, Mr. *Prior*, a person of great di-
 stinction, not only on account of his wit, but for
 his abilities in the management of affairs, and who
 had been formerly employed at the *French* court, was
 dispatched thither by her majesty with the foregoing
 demands. This gentleman was received at *Ver-*
sailles with great civility. The king declared,
 that no proceeding, in order to a general treaty,
 would

would be so agreeable to him as by the intervention of *England*; and that his majesty, being desirous to contribute with all his power towards the repose of *Europe*, did answer to the demands which had been made.

“ That he would consent freely and sincerely
 “ to all just and reasonable methods, for hindering the crowns of *France* and *Spain* from
 “ being ever united under the same prince; his
 “ majesty being persuaded, that such an excess of
 “ power would be as contrary to the general good
 “ and repose of *Europe*, as it was opposite to the
 “ will of the late Catholic king *Charles* the second.
 “ He said his intention was, that all parties in the
 “ present war should find their reasonable satisfaction in the intended treaty of peace; and that
 “ trade should be settled and maintained for the
 “ future, to the advantage of those nations which
 “ formerly possessed it.

“ That, as the king will exactly observe the
 “ conditions of peace, whenever it shall be concluded; and as the object he proposeth to himself,
 “ is to secure the frontiers of his own kingdom,
 “ without giving any sort of disturbance to his neighbours, he promiseth to agree, that, by the future
 “ treaty of peace, the *Dutch* shall be put into possession of all fortified places as shall be specified in
 “ the said treaty to serve for a barrier to that republick, against all attempts on the side of *France*.
 “ He engages likewise to give all necessary securities, for removing the jealousies raised among the
 “ *German* princes of his majesty’s designs.

That

“ That, when the conferences, in order to a
 “ general treaty, shall be formed, all the preten-
 “ sions of the several princes and states engaged
 “ in the present war, shall be fairly and amicably
 “ discussed ; nor shall any thing be omitted, which
 “ may regulate and determine them to the satis-
 “ faction of all parties.

“ That, pursuant to the demands made by *Eng-*
 “ *land*, his majesty promises to restore to the duke
 “ of *Savoy* those demesnes and territories, which
 “ belonged to that prince at the beginning of this
 “ war, and which his majesty is now in possession
 “ of ; and the king consents further, that such
 “ other places in *Italy* shall be yielded to the duke
 “ of *Savoy*, as shall be found necessary, according
 “ to the sense of those treaties made between the
 “ said duke and his allies.

“ That the king’s sentiments of the present
 “ government of *Great Britain*, the open declara-
 “ tion he had made in *Holland* of his resolution
 “ to treat of peace, by applications to the *English* ;
 “ the assurances he had given of engaging the king
 “ of *Spain* to leave *Gibraltar* in their hands (all
 “ which are convincing proofs of his perfect esteem
 “ for a nation still in war with him) ; leave no
 “ room to doubt of his majesty’s inclination to give
 “ *England* all securities and advantages for their
 “ trade, which they can reasonably demand. But,
 “ as his majesty cannot persuade himself, that a
 “ government, so clear-sighted as ours, will in-
 “ sist upon conditions which must absolutely destroy
 “ the

“ the trade of *France* and *Spain*, as well as that of
 “ all other nations of *Europe*, he thinks the de-
 “ mands made by *Great Britain* may require a more
 “ particular discussion.

“ That, upon this foundation, the king thought
 “ the best way of advancing and perfecting a nego-
 “ ciation, the beginning of which he had seen with
 “ so much satisfaction, would be to send into *Eng-*
 “ *land* a person instructed in his intention, and au-
 “ thorised by him to agree upon securities for set-
 “ tling the trade of the subjects of *England*; and
 “ those particular advantages to be stipulated in
 “ their favour, without destroying the trade of the
 “ *French* and *Spaniards*, or of other nations in *Christ-*
 “ *endom*.

“ That therefore his majesty had charged the
 “ person chosen for this commission, to answer the
 “ other articles of the memorial given him by Mr.
 “ *Prior*, the secret of which should be exactly ob-
 “ served.”

Monf. *de Torcy* had, for some years past, used all
 his endeavours to incline his master towards a peace,
 pursuant to the maxim of his uncle *Colbert*, “ That
 “ a long war was not for the interest of *France*.” It
 was for this reason the king made choice of him
 in the conferences at the *Hague*; the bad success
 whereof, although it filled him with resentments
 against the *Dutch*, did not alter his opinion: but he
 was violently opposed by a party both in the court
 and kingdom, who pretended to fear he would sa-
 crifice the glory of the prince and country by too
 large

large concessions ; or perhaps would rather wish that the first offers should have been still made to the *Dutch*, as a people more likely to be less solicitous about the interest of *Britain*, than her majesty would certainly be for theirs : and the particular design of Mr. *Prior* was to find out, whether that minister had credit enough with his prince, and a support from others in power, sufficient to over-rule the faction against peace.

Mr. *Prior's* journey could not be kept a secret, as the court here at first seemed to intend it. He was discovered at his return by an officer of the port at *Dover*, where he landed, after six weeks absence ; upon which the *Dutch Gazettes* and *English News-papers* were full of speculations.

At the same time with Mr. *Prior* there arrived from *France* Mons. *Mesnager*, knight of the order of *St. Michael*, and one of the council of trade to the most Christian king. His commission was, in general, empowering him to treat with the minister of any prince engaged in the war against his master. In his first conferences with the queen's ministers, he pretended orders to insist, that her majesty should enter upon particular engagements in several articles, which did not depend upon her, but concerned only the interest of the allies reciprocally with those of the most Christian king : whereas the negotiation had begun upon this principle, that *France* should consent to adjust the interests of *Great Britain* in the first place, whereby her majesty would be afterwards enabled, by her good offices

on

on all sides, to facilitate the general peace. The queen resolved never to depart from this principle; but was absolutely determined to remit the particular interests of the allies to general conferences, where she would do the utmost in her power to procure the repose of *Europe*, and the satisfaction of all parties. It was plain, *France* could run no hazard by this proceeding, because the preliminary articles would have no force before a general peace was signed: therefore it was not doubted but *Monf. Mefnager* would have orders to wave this new pretension, and go on in treating upon that foot which was at first proposed. In short, the ministers required a positive and speedy answer to the articles in question, since they contained only such advantages and securities as her majesty thought she had a right to require from any prince whatsoever, to whom the dominions of *Spain* should happen to fall.

The particular demands of *Britain* were formed into eight articles; which *Monf. Mefnager*, having transmitted to his court and received new powers from thence, had orders to give his master's consent, by way of answers to the several points, to be obligatory only after a general peace. These demands, together with the answers of the *French* king, were drawn up and signed by *Monf. Mefnager*, and her majesty's two principal secretaries of State; whereof I shall here present an extract to the reader.

In

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In the preamble the most Christian king sets forth, “ That, being particularly informed, by
 “ the last memorial which the *British* ministers delivered to Monsieur *Mefnager*, of the dispositions of this crown to facilitate a general peace, to
 “ the satisfaction of the several parties concerned ;
 “ and his majesty finding, in effect, as the said memorial declares, that he runs no hazard by
 “ engaging himself in the manner there expressed,
 “ since the preliminary articles will be of no force,
 “ until the signing of the general peace ; and being
 “ sincerely desirous to advance, to the utmost of his
 “ power, the repose of *Europe*, especially by a way
 “ so agreeable as the interposition of a princess,
 “ whom so many ties of blood ought to unite to
 “ him, and whose sentiments for the public tranquillity cannot be doubted ; his Majesty, moved
 “ by these considerations, hath ordered Mons.
 “ *Mefnager*, Knight, &c. to give the following
 “ answers, in writing, to the articles contained in
 “ the memorial transmitted to him, intituled *Preliminary Demands for Great Britain in particular.*”

The articles were these that follow.

“ First, The succession to the crown to be acknowledged, according to the present establishment.

“ Secondly, A new treaty of commerce between *Great Britain* and *France* to be made, after the most just and reasonable manner.

“ Thirdly, *Dunkirk* to be demolished.

“ Fourthly,

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“ Fourthly, *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* to continue in the hands of those who now possess them.

“ Fifthly, The *Assiento* (or liberty of selling negroes to the *Spanish* West-Indies) to be granted to the *English*, in as full a manner as the *French* possess it at present; and such places in the said *West-Indies* to be assigned to the persons concerned in this trade, for the refreshment and sale of their Negroes, as shall be found necessary and convenient.

“ Sixthly, Whatever advantages, privileges, and rights are already, or may hereafter be, granted by *Spain* to the subjects of *France*, or any other nation, shall be equally granted to the subjects of *Great Britain*.

“ Seventhly, For better protecting their trade in the *Spanish* West-Indies, the *English* shall be put into possession of such places as shall be named in the treaty of peace.

“ Or, as an equivalent for this article, that the *Assiento* be granted to *Britain* for the term of thirty years. That the isle of *St. Christopher's* be likewise secured to the *English*.

“ That the advantages and exemption from duties, promised by *Monfieur Mesnager*, which he affirms will amount to fifteen *per cent.* upon all goods of the growth and manufacture of *Great Britain*, be effectually allowed.

“ That whereas, on the side of the river of *Plate*, the *English* are not in possession of any colony, a certain

“ certain extent of territory be allowed them on
 “ the said river for refreshing and keeping their ne-
 “ groes, till they are sold to the *Spaniards*; subject
 “ nevertheless, to the inspection of an officer ap-
 “ pointed by *Spain*.

“ Eightly, *Newfoundland* and the Bay and
 “ Streights of *Hudson*, shall be intirely restored to
 “ the *English*; and *Great Britain* and *France* shall re-
 “ spectively keep whatever dominions in *North Ame-*
 “ *rica* each of them shall be in possession of, when
 “ the ratification of this treaty shall be published in
 “ those parts of the world.”

The six first articles were allowed without any difficulty, except that about *Dunkirk*, where *France* was to have an equivalent, to be settled in a general treaty.

Difficulty arising upon the seventh article, the proposed equivalent was allowed instead thereof.

The last article was referred to the general treaty of peace; only the *French* insisted to have the power of fishing for cod, and drying them on the island of *Newfoundland*.

These articles were to be looked upon as conditions, which the most Christian king consented to allow; and whenever a general peace should be signed, they were to be digested into the usual form of a treaty, to the satisfaction of both crowns.

The queen having thus provided for the security and advantage of her kingdoms, whenever a peace should be made, and upon terms no way interfering with the interest of her allies; the next thing
 in

in order, was to procure from *France* such preliminary articles, as might be a ground upon which to commence a general treaty. These were adjusted, and signed the same day with the former; and having been delivered to the several ministers residing here from the powers in alliance with *England*, were quickly made public. But the various constructions and censures which passed upon them, have made it necessary to give the reader the following transcript :

“ The king being willing to contribute all that is in his power, to the re-establishing of the general peace, his majesty declares,

“ I. That he will acknowledge the queen of *Great Britain* in that quality, as also the succession of that crown, according to the present settlement.

“ II. That he will freely, and *bonâ fide*, consent to the taking all just and reasonable measures, for hindering that the crowns of *France* and *Spain* may ever be united on the head of the same prince; his majesty being persuaded, that this excess of power would be contrary to the good and quiet of *Europe*.

“ III. The king's intention is, that all the parties engaged in the present war, without excepting any of them, may find their reasonable satisfaction in the treaty of peace, which shall be made : That commerce may be re-established and maintained for the future, to the advantage of *Great Britain*, of *Holland*, and of the other nations,

“ tions, who have been accustomed to exercise
 “ commerce.

“ IV. As the king will likewise maintain exact-
 “ ly the observation of the peace, when it shall be
 “ concluded, and the object the king proposes to
 “ himself, being to secure the frontiers of his king-
 “ dom, without disturbing in any manner whatever
 “ the neighbouring states, he promises to agree, by
 “ the treaty which shall be made, that the *Dutch*
 “ shall be put in possession of the fortified places,
 “ which shall be mentioned, in the *Netherlands*,
 “ to serve hereafter for a barrier ; which may secure
 “ the quiet of the republick of *Holland* against any
 “ enterprize from the part of *France*.

“ V. The king consents likewise, that a secure and
 “ convenient barrier should be formed for the em-
 “ pire, and for the house of *Austria*.

“ VI. Notwithstanding *Dunkirk* cost the king
 “ very great sums, as well to purchase it, as to for-
 “ tify it ; and that it is further necessary to be at
 “ very considerable expence for razing the works,
 “ his Majesty is willing however to engage to cause
 “ them to be demolished, immediately after the
 “ conclusion of the peace, on condition, that, for
 “ the fortifications of that place, a proper equiva-
 “ lent, that may content him, be given him : And,
 “ as *England* cannot furnish that equivalent, the
 “ discussion of it shall be referred to the conferen-
 “ ces to be held for the negociation of the
 “ peace.

“ VII.

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“ VII. When the conferences for the negotiation of the peace shall be formed, all the pretensions of the princes and states, engaged in the present war, shall be therein discussed *bonâ fide*, and amicably : And nothing shall be omitted to regulate and terminate them to the satisfaction of all the parties.

MESNAGER.”

These overtures are founded upon the eighth article of the grand alliance, made in 1701 ; wherein are contained the conditions, without which a peace is not to be made ; and whoever compares both, will find the preliminaries to reach every point proposed in that article, which those who censured them at home, if they spoke their thoughts, did not understand : for nothing can be plainer, than what the publick hath often been told, that the recovery of *Spain* from the house of *Bourbon* was a thing never imagined, when the war began, but a just and reasonable satisfaction to the emperor. Much less ought such a condition to be held necessary at present, not only because it is allowed on all hands to be impracticable, but likewise because, by the changes in the *Austrian* and *Bourbon* families, it would not be safe : neither did those, who were loudest in blaming the *French* preliminaries, know any thing of the advantages privately stipulated for *Britain*, whose interests they assured us, were all made a sacrifice to the corruption or folly of the ma-

nagers : and therefore, because the opposers of peace have been better informed by what they have since heard and seen, they have changed their battery, and accused the ministers for betraying the *Dutch*.

The Lord *Raby*, her majesty's ambassador at the *Hague*, having made a short journey to *England*, where he was created earl of *Strafford*, went back to *Holland* about the beginning of *October*, 1711, with the above preliminaries, in order to communicate them to the pensionary, and other ministers of the States. The earl was instructed to let them know, " That the queen had, according to " their desire, returned an answer to the first propositions signed by *Monf. Torcy*, signifying, that " the *French* offers were thought both by her majesty and the States, neither so particular nor so " full as they ought to be ; and insisting to have a " distinct project formed, of such a peace as the " most Christian king would be willing to conclude : that this affair having been for some time " transacted by papers, and thereby subject to delays, *Monf. Mesnager* was at length sent over by " *France*, and had signed those preliminaries now " communicated to them : that the several articles did not, indeed, contain such particular " concessions as *France* must and will make in the " course of a treaty ; but that, however, her majesty thought them a sufficient foundation where- " on to open the general conferences.

“ That her majesty was unwilling to be charged
 “ with determining the several interests of her allies,
 “ and therefore contented herself with such gene-
 “ ral offers as might include all the particular de-
 “ mands, proper to be made during the treaty ;
 “ where the confederates must resolve to adhere
 “ firmly together, in order to obtain from the ene-
 “ my the utmost that could be hoped for, in the pre-
 “ sent circumstances of affairs ; which rule, her
 “ majesty assured the States, she would, on her
 “ part, firmly observe.”

If the ministers of *Holland* should express any
 uneasiness, that her majesty may have settled the in-
 terests of her own kingdoms, in a future peace, by
 any private agreement, the ambassador was ordered
 to say, “ That the queen had hitherto refused to
 “ have the treaty carried on in her own kingdom, and
 “ would continue to do so, unless they (the *Dutch*)
 “ constrained her to take another measure : That
 “ by these means the States, and the rest of the
 “ allies, would have the opportunity of treating
 “ and adjusting their different pretensions ; which
 “ her majesty would promote with all the zeal she
 “ had shewn for the common good, and the parti-
 “ cular advantage of that republick (as they must
 “ do her the justice to confess), in the whole course
 “ of her reign : that the queen had made no stipu-
 “ lation for herself, which might clash with the in-
 “ terests of *Holland* ; and that the articles to be in-
 “ serted in a future treaty, for the benefit of *Bri-*
 “ *tain*, were, for the most part, such as contained

“ advantages, which must either be continued to
 “ the enemy, or be obtained by her majesty ; but,
 “ however, that no concession should tempt her to
 “ hearken to a peace, unless her good friends and
 “ allies the States General had all reasonable satis-
 “ faction, as to their trade and barrier, as well as
 “ in all other respects.”

After these assurances given in the queen’s name, the earl was to insinuate, “ That her majesty should
 “ have just reason to be offended, and to think the
 “ proceeding between her and the States very un-
 “ equal, if they should pretend to have any further
 “ uneasiness upon this head : That, being deter-
 “ mined to accept no advantages to herself, repug-
 “ nant to their interests, nor any peace, without
 “ their reasonable satisfaction, the figure she had
 “ made during the whole course of the war, and
 “ the part she had acted, superior to any of the
 “ allies, who were more concerned in danger and
 “ interest might justly intitle her to settle the con-
 “ cerns of *Great Britain*, before she would con-
 “ sent to a general negociation.”

If the States should object the engagements the queen was under, by treaties, of making no peace but in concert with them, or the particular obligations of the Barrier-treaty, the ambassador was to answer, “ That, as to the former, her majesty
 “ had not in any sort acted contrary thereto :
 “ That she was so far from making a peace with-
 “ out their consent, as to declare her firm resolu-
 “ tion not to make it without their satisfaction ;

“ and

“and that what had passed between *France* and her,
 “amounted to no more than an introduction to
 “a general treaty.” As to the latter, the earl
 had orders to represent very earnestly, “How much
 “it was even for the interest of *Holland* itself,
 “rather to compound the advantage of the Barrier-
 “treaty, than to insist upon the whole, which
 “the house of *Austria*, and several other allies,
 “would never consent to: That nothing could be
 “more odious to the people of *England* than many
 “parts of this treaty; which would have raised
 “universal indignation, if the utmost care had not
 “been taken to quiet the minds of those who were
 “acquainted with the terms of that guaranty, and
 “to conceal them from those who were not: That
 “it was absolutely necessary to maintain a good
 “harmony between both nations, without which
 “it would be impossible at any time to form a
 “strength for reducing an exorbitant power, or
 “preserving the balance of *Europe*: from whence
 “it followed, that it could not be the true interest
 “of either country to insist upon any conditions,
 “which might give just apprehension to the other.

“That *France* had proposed *Utrecht*, *Nimeguen*,
 “*Aix*, or *Liege*, wherein to hold the general trea-
 “ty; and her majesty was ready to send her pleni-
 “potentiaries, to which ever of those towns the
 “States should approve.”

If the imperial ministers, or those of the other
 allies, should object against the preliminaries as no
 sufficient ground for opening the conferences, and

insist that *France* should consent to such articles as were signed on the part of the allies in the year 1709, the earl of *Strafford* was in answer directed to insinuate, "That the *French* might have probably been brought to explain themselves more particularly, had they not perceived the uneasiness, impatience, and jealousy among the allies, during our transactions with that court." However he should declare to them in the queen's name, "That, if they were determined to accept of peace upon no terms inferior to what was formerly demanded, her majesty was ready to concur with them; but would no longer bear those disproportions of expence, yearly increased upon her, nor the deficiency of the confederates in every part of the war: That it was therefore incumbent upon them to furnish, for the future, such quotas of ships and forces as they were now wanting in, and to increase their expence, while her majesty reduced her's to a reasonable and just proportion."

That, if the ministers of *Vienna* and *Holland* should urge their inability upon this head, the queen insisted, "They ought to comply with her in war or in peace; her majesty desiring nothing as to the first, but what they ought to perform, and what is absolutely necessary: and as to the latter, that she had done, and would continue to do, the utmost in her power towards obtaining such a peace as might be to the satisfaction of all her allies."

Some

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Some days after the earl of *Strafford's* departure to *Holland*, *Monf. Buys*, pensionary of *Amsterdam*, arrived here from thence with instructions from his masters, to treat upon the subject of the *French* preliminaries, and the methods for carrying on the war. In his first conference with a committee of council, he objected against all the articles, as too general and uncertain; and against some of them, as prejudicial. He said, "The *French* promising that "trade should be re-established and maintained for the "future, was meant in order to deprive the *Dutch* of "their tariff of 1664; for the plenipotentiaries of that "crown would certainly expound the word *Retablier*, "to signify no more than restoring the trade of the "States to the condition it was in immediately before the commencement of the present war." He said, "That, in the article of *Dunkirk*, the destruction of the harbour was not mentioned; "and that the fortifications were only to be razed "upon condition of an equivalent, which might "occasion a difference between her majesty and the "States, since *Holland* would think it hard to have "a town less in their barrier for the demolition of "*Dunkirk*; and *England* would complain to have "this thorn continue in their side, for the sake of "giving one town more to the *Dutch*."

Lastly, he objected, "That, where the *French* "promised effectual methods should be taken to "prevent the union of *France* and *Spain* under the "same king, they offered nothing at all for the ces-
"sion

“ sion of *Spain*, which was the most important
 “ point of the war.

“ For these reasons, *Monf. Buys* hoped her ma-
 “ jesty would alter her measures, and demand spe-
 “ cific articles, upon which the allies might debate
 “ whether they would consent to a negociation or
 “ no.”

The queen, who looked upon all these difficul-
 ties, raised about the method of treating, as en-
 deavours to wrest the negociation out of her
 hands, commanded the lords of the committee to
 let *Monf. Buys* know, “ That the experience she
 “ formerly had of proceeding by particular prelimi-
 “ naries towards a general treaty, gave her no en-
 “ couragement to repeat the same method any more:
 “ That such a preliminary treaty must be negocia-
 “ ted either by some particular allies, or by all.
 “ The first, her majesty could never suffer, since
 “ she would neither take upon her to settle the in-
 “ terests of others, nor submit that others should
 “ settle those of her own kingdoms. As to the se-
 “ cond, it was liable to *Monf. Buys's* objection,
 “ because the ministers of *France* would have as fair
 “ an opportunity of sowing division among the al-
 “ lies, when they were all assembled upon a preli-
 “ minary treaty, as when the conferences were open
 “ for a negociation of peace: That this method
 “ could therefore have no other effect than to delay
 “ the treaty, without any advantage: That her
 “ majesty was heartily disposed, both then and du-
 “ ring the negociation, to insist on every thing ne-
 “ cessary

“ necessary for securing the barrier and commerce of
 “ the States ; and therefore hoped the conferences
 “ might be opened, without farther difficulties.

“ That her majesty did not only consent but de-
 “ fire to have a plan settled for carrying on the
 “ war, as soon as the negotiation of peace should
 “ begin; but expected to have the burthen more
 “ equally laid, and more agreeable to treaties ; and
 “ would join with the States in pressing the allies to
 “ perform their parts as she had endeavoured to ani-
 “ mate them by her example.”

Monf. *Buys* seemed to know little of his masters mind, and pretended he had no power to conclude upon any thing. Her majesty’s minister proposed to him an alliance between the two nations, to subsist after a peace. To this he hearkened very readily, and offered to take the matter *ad referendum*, having authority to do no more. His intention was, that he might appear to negotiate, in order to gain time to pick out, if possible, the whole secret of the transactions between *Britain* and *France* ; to disclose nothing himself, nor bind his masters to any conditions ; to seek delays till the parliament met, and then observe what turn it took, and what would be the issue of those frequent cabals between himself and some other foreign ministers, in conjunction with the chief leaders of the discontented faction.

The *Dutch* hoped, that the clamours raised against the proceedings of the queen’s ministers towards a peace, would make the parliament dis-
 prove

prove what had been done ; whereby the States would be at the head of the negociation, which the queen did not think fit to have any more in their hands, where it had miscarried twice already ; although prince *Eugene* himself owned, “ that *France* “ was then disposed to conclude a peace upon such “ conditions, as it was not worth the life of a “ grenadier to refuse them.” As to insisting upon specific preliminaries, her majesty thought her own method much better, for each ally, in the course of the negociation, to advance and manage his “ own pretensions, wherein she would support and “ assist them, rather than for two ministers of one ally to treat solely with the enemy, and report what they pleased to the rest, as was practised by the *Dutch* at *Gertruydenberg*.

One part of *Monf. Buys's* instructions was to desire the queen not to be so far amused by a treaty of peace, as to neglect her preparation for war against the next campaign. Her majesty, who was firmly resolved against submitting any longer to that unequal burthen of expence she had hitherto lain under, commanded *Mr. secretary St. John* to debate the matter with that minister, who said he had no power to treat ; only insisted, that his masters had fully done their part, and that nothing but exhortations could be used to prevail on the other allies to act with greater vigour.

On the other side, the queen refused to concert any plan for the prosecution of the war, till the States would join with her in agreeing to open
the

the conferences of peace; which therefore, by Mons. Buys's application to them, was accordingly done, by a resolution taken in *Holland* upon the 21st of *November*, 1711, N. S.

About this time the count *de Gallas* was forbid the court, by order from the queen, who sent him word, that she looked upon him no longer as a public minister.

This gentleman thought fit to act a very dishonourable part here in *England*, altogether inconsistent with the character he bore of envoy from the late and present emperors; two princes under the strictest ties of gratitude to the queen, especially the latter, who had then the title of king of *Spain*. Count *Gallas*, about the end of *August*, 1711, with the utmost privacy, dispatched an *Italian*, one of his clerks, to *Franckfort*, where the earl of *Peterborough* was then expected. This man was instructed to pass for a *Spaniard*, and insinuate himself into the earl's service; which he accordingly did, and gave constant information to the last emperor's secretary at *Franckfort* of all he could gather up in his lordship's family, as well as copies of several letters he had transcribed. It was likewise discovered that *Gallas* had, in his dispatches to the present emperor, then in *Spain*, represented the queen and her ministers as not to be confided in: that, when her majesty had dismissed the earl of *Sunderland*, she promised to proceed no farther in the change of her servants; yet soon after turned them all out, and thereby ruined the public credit, as well as abandoned *Spain*:
that

that the present ministers wanted the abilities and good dispositions of the former; were persons of ill designs, and enemies to the common cause, and he (*Gallas*) could not trust them. In his letters to count *Zinzendorf*, he said, "That Mr. secretary *St. John* complained of the house of *Austria's* backwardness, only to make the king of *Spain* odious to *England*, and the people here desirous of a peace, although it were ever so bad one;" to prevent which count *Gallas* drew up a memorial which he intended to give the queen, and transmitted a draught of it to *Zinzendorf* for his advice and approbation. This memorial, among other great promises to encourage the continuance of the war, proposed the detaching a good body of troops from *Hungary* to serve in *Italy* or *Spain* as the queen should think fit.

Zinzendorf thought this too bold a step, without consulting the emperor: to which *Gallas* replied, that his design was only to engage the Queen to go on with the war; that *Zinzendorf* knew how earnestly the *English* and *Dutch* had pressed to have these troops from *Hungary*; and therefore they ought to be promised, in order to quiet those two nations, after which several ways might be found to elude that promise; and, in the mean time, the great point would be gained of bringing the *English* to declare for continuing the war: that the emperor might afterwards excuse himself, by the apprehension of a war in *Hungary*, or of that between the *Turks* and *Muscovites*; that, if these excuses should be at an end,

end, a detachment of one or two regiments might be sent, and the rest deferred, by pretending want of money; by which the queen would probably be brought to maintain some part of those troops, and perhaps the whole body. He added, that this way of management was very common among the allies; and gave for an example, the forces which the *Dutch* had promised for the service of *Spain*, but were never sent; with several other instances of the same kind, which he said might be produced.

Her majesty, who had long suspected that count *Gallas* was engaged in these and the like practices, having at last received authentic proofs of this whole intrigue, from original letters, and the voluntary confession of those who were principally concerned in carrying it on, thought it necessary to shew her resentment, by refusing the count any more access to her person or her court.

Although the queen, as it hath been already observed, were resolved to open the conferences upon the general preliminaries, yet she thought it would very much forward the peace, to know what were the utmost concessions which *France* would make to the several allies, but especially to the States General and the duke of *Savoy*: therefore, while her majesty was pressing the former to agree to a general treaty, the abbé *Gualtier* was sent to *France* with a memorial, to desire that the most Christian king would explain himself upon those preliminaries, particularly with relation to *Savoy* and *Holland*, whose satisfaction the queen had
most

most at heart, as well from her friendship to both these powers, as because, if she might engage to them that their just pretensions would be allowed, few difficulties would remain, of any moment, to retard the general peace.

The *French* answer to this memorial contained several schemes and proposals for the satisfaction of each ally, coming up very near to what her majesty and her ministers thought reasonable. The greatest difficulties seemed to be about the elector of *Bavaria*, for whose interests *France* appeared to be as much concerned, as the queen was for those of the duke of *Savoy* : however, those were judged not very hard to be surmounted.

The States having at length agreed to a general treaty, the following particulars were concerted between her majesty and that republic :

“ That the congress should be held at *Utrecht* ;
 “ that the opening of the congress should be upon
 “ the 12th of *January*, N. S. 1711-12.

“ That, for avoiding all inconveniences of ceremony, the ministers of the queen and States,
 “ during the treaty, should only have the characters of plenipotentiaries, and not take that of
 “ ambassadors, till the day on which the peace
 “ should be signed.

“ Lastly, The queen and States insisted, that
 “ the ministers of the duke of *Anjou*, and the late
 “ electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne*, should not appear at the congress, until the points relating to
 “ their masters were adjusted ; and were firmly re-
 “ solved

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“solved not to send their passports for the ministers of *France*, till the most Christian king declared, that the absence of the forementioned ministers should not delay the progress of the “negociation.”

Pursuant to the three former articles, her majesty wrote circular letters to all the allies engaged with her in the présent war : and *France* had notice, that, as soon as the king declared his compliance with the last article, the blank passports should be filled up with the names of the marechal *D’Uxelles*, the abbé *de Polignac*, and Monsr. *Mesnager*, who were appointed plenipotentiaries for that crown.

From what I have hitherto deduced, the reader sees the plan which the queen thought the most effectual for advancing a peace. As the conferences were to begin upon the general preliminaries, the queen was to be empowered by *France* to offer separately to the allies what might be reasonable for each to accept ; and her own interests being previously settled, she was to act as a general mediator : a figure that became her best, from the part she had in the war, and more useful to the great end at which she aimed, of giving a safe and honourable peace to *Europe*.

Besides, it was absolutely necessary, for the interests of *Britain*, that the queen should be at the head of the negociation, without which her majesty could find no expedient to redress the injuries her kingdoms were sure to suffer by the Barrier-treaty. In order to settle this point with the States,

the ministers here had a conference with *Monf. Buys*, a few days before the parliament met. He was told, “how necessary it was, by a previous concert between the emperor, the queen, and the States, “to prevent any difference which might arise in the “course of the treaty at *Utrecht*: That, under pretence of a barrier for the States General, as their “security against *France*, infinite prejudice might “arise to the trade of *Britain* in the *Spanish Netherlands*; for by the fifteenth article of the Barrier-treaty, in consequence of what was stipulated by “that of *Munster*, the queen was brought to engage that commerce shall not be rendered more “easy, in point of duties, by the sea-ports of *Flanders*, than it is by the river *Scheld*, and by the “canals on the side of the Seven provinces, which, “as things now stood, was very unjust; for while “the towns in *Flanders* were in the hands of *France* “or *Spain*, the *Dutch* and we traded to them upon “equal foot; but now, since by the Barrier-treaty “those towns were to be possessed by the States, “that republick might lay what duties they pleased “upon *British* goods, after passing by *Ostend*, and “make their own custom-free, which would utterly ruin our whole trade with *Flanders*.”

Upon this, the lords told Mr. *Buys* very frankly, “That if the States expected the queen should support their barrier, as their demands from *France* “and the house of *Austria*, upon that head, they “ought to agree, that the subjects of *Britain* should “trade as freely to all the countries and places,
“trade

“ which, by virtue of any former or future treaty,
 “ were to become the barrier of the States, as they
 “ did in the time of the late king *Charles* the second
 “ of *Spain*; or as the subjects of the States-General
 “ themselves shall do: and that it was hoped, their
 “ high-mightinesses would never scruple to rectify
 “ a mistake so injurious to that nation, without
 “ whose blood and treasure they would have had no
 “ barrier at all.” Mons. *Buys* had nothing to answer
 against these objections, but said, he had already
 wrote to his masters for further instructions.

Greater difficulties occurred about settling what
 should be the barrier to the States after a peace:
 the envoy insisting to have all the towns that were
 named in the treaty of barrier and succession; and
 the queen’s ministers excepting those towns, which
 if they continued in the hands of the *Dutch*, would
 render the trade of *Britain* to *Flanders* precarious.
 At length it was agreed in general; that the States
 ought to have what is really essential to the security
 of their barrier against *France*; and that some ami-
 cable expedient should be found, for removing the
 fears both of *Britain* and *Holland* upon this point.

But at the same time Mons. *Buys* was told,
 “ That, although the queen would certainly insist
 “ to obtain all those points from *France*, in behalf
 “ of her allies the States, yet she hoped his masters
 “ were too reasonable to break off the treaty, ra-
 “ ther than not obtain the very utmost of their de-

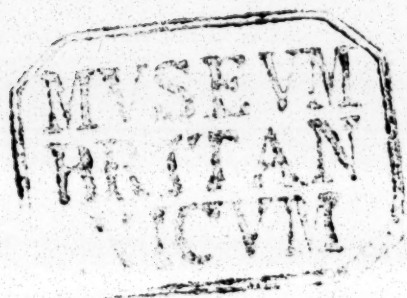
“mands, which could not be settled here, unless
 “he were fully instructed to speak and conclude
 “upon that subject: that her majesty thought the
 “best way of securing the common interest, and
 “preventing the division of the allies, by the arti-
 “fices of *France*, in the course of a long negoti-
 “ation, would be to concert between the queen’s
 “ministers and those of the States, with a due re-
 “gard to the other confederates, such a plan as
 “might amount to a safe and honourable peace.”
 After which the abbé *Polignac*, who of the *French*
 plenipotentiaries was most in the secret of his
 court, might be told; “That it was in vain to
 “amuse each other any longer; that on such terms
 “the peace would be immediately concluded; and
 “that the conferences must cease, if those condi-
 “tions were not, without delay, and with expe-
 “dition, granted.”

A treaty between her majesty and the States, to
 subsist after a peace, was now signed, *Monf. Buys*
 having received full powers to that purpose. His
 masters were desirous to have a private article ad-
 ded, *sub sperati*, concerning those terms of peace;
 without the granting of which, we should stipulate
 not to agree with the enemy. But neither the
 character of *Buys*, nor the manner in which he
 was impowered to treat, would allow the queen to
 enter into such an engagement. The congress like-
 wise approaching, there was not time to settle a
 point of so great importance. Neither, lastly,
 would her majesty be tied down by *Holland*, with-
 out

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out previous satisfaction upon several articles in the Barrier-treaty, so inconsistent with her engagements to other powers in the alliance, and so injurious to her own kingdoms.

The lord privy-seal, and the earl of *Strafford*, having, about the time the parliament met, been appointed her majesty's plenipotentiaries for treating a general peace, I shall here break off the account of any further progress made in that great affair, untill I resume it in the last book of this History.



THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
FOUR LAST YEARS
OF THE
Q U E E N.
BOOK III.

THE house of commons seemed resolved, from the beginning of the session, to inquire strictly not only into all abuses relating to the accounts of the army, but likewise into the several treaties between us and our allies, upon what articles and conditions they were first agreed to, and how these had been since observed. In the first week of their sitting, they sent an address to the queen, to desire that the treaty, whereby her majesty was obliged to furnish forty thousand men, to act in conjunction with the forces of her allies in the *Low Countries*, might be laid before the house. To which the secretary of state brought an answer, "That search had been made, but no foot-steps could be found of any treaty or convention for that purpose." It was this unaccountable

neglect in the former ministry, which first gave a pretence to the allies for lessening their quota's, so much to the disadvantage of her majesty, her kingdoms, and the common cause, in the course of the war. It had been stipulated by the grand alliance, between the emperor, *Britain*, and the States, that those three powers should assist each other with their whole force, and that the several proportions should be specified in a particular convention. But if any such convention were made, it was never ratified; only the parties agreed, by common consent, to take each a certain share of the burthen upon themselves, which the late king *William* communicated to the house of commons by his secretary of state; and which afterwards the other two powers, observing the mighty zeal in our ministry for prolonging the war, eluded as they pleased.

The commissioners for stating the public accounts of the kingdom had, in executing their office the preceding summer, discovered several practices relating to the affairs of the army, which they drew up in a report, and delivered to the house.

The commons began their examination of the report with a member of their own, Mr. *Robert Walpole*, already mentioned; who, during his being secretary at war, had received five hundred guineas, and taken a note for five hundred pounds more, on account of two contracts for forage of the queen's troops quartered in *Scotland*. He endeavoured to excuse

cuse the first contract, but had nothing to say about the second. The first appeared so plain and so scandalous to the Commons, that they voted the author of it guilty of a high breach of trust, and notorious corruption, committed him prisoner to the tower, where he continued to the end of the session, and expelled him the house. He was a person much carested by the opposers of the queen and ministry, having been first drawn into their party by his indifference to any principles, and afterwards kept steady by the loss of his place. His bold, forward countenance, altogether a stranger to that infirmity which makes men bashful, joined to a readiness of speaking in public, hath justly intitled him, among those of his faction, to be a sort of leader of the second form. The reader must excuse me for being so particular about one, who is otherwise altogether obscure.

Another part of the report concerned the duke of *Marlborough*, who had received large sums of money, by way of gratuity, from those who were the undertakers for providing the army with bread. This the duke excused, in a letter to the commissioners, from the like practice of other generals: but that excuse appeared to be of little weight, and the mischievous consequences of such a corruption were visible enough; since the money given by these undertakers were but bribes for connivance at their indirect dealings with the army. And as frauds, that begin at the top, are apt to spread through all the subordinate ranks of those
who

who have any share in the management, and to increase as they circulate; so, in this case, for every thousand pounds given to the general, the soldiers at least suffered fourfold.

Another article of this report, relating to the duke, was yet of more importance. The greatest part of her majesty's forces in *Flanders* were mercenary troops, hired from several princes of *Europe*. It was found that the queen's general subtracted two and a half *per cent.* out of the pay of those troops, for his own use, which amounted to a great annual sum. The duke of *Marlborough*, in his letter already mentioned, endeavouring to extenuate the matter, told the commissioners, "That
 " this deduction was a free gift from the foreign
 " troops, which he had negociated with them by
 " the late king's orders, and had obtained the
 " queen's warrant for reserving and receiving it:
 " That it was intended for secret service, the ten
 " thousand pounds a year given by parliament not
 " proving sufficient, and had all been laid out that
 " way." The commissioners observed, in answer,
 " That the warrant was kept dormant for nine
 " years, as indeed no entry of it appeared in the
 " secretary of state's books, and the deduction of
 " it concealed all that time from the knowledge of
 " parliament: That, if it had been a free gift from
 " the foreign troops, it would not have been stipu-
 " lated by agreement, as the duke's letter confessed,
 " and as his warrant declared, which latter affirm-
 " ed this stoppage to be intended for defraying
 " ex-

“extraordinary contingent expences of the troops,
 “and therefore should not have been applied to se-
 “cret services.” They submitted to the house, whe-
 ther the warrant itself were legal or duly counter-
 signed. The commissioners added, “That no re-
 “ceipt was ever given for this deducted money,
 “nor was it mentioned in any receipts from the for-
 “eign troops, which were always taken in full.
 “And lastly, That the whole sum, on computati-
 “on, amounted to near three hundred thousand
 “pounds.”

The house, after a long debate, resolved,
 “That the taking several sums from the contract-
 “ers for bread by the duke of *Marlborough*, was
 “unwarrantable and illegal; and that the two
 “and a half *per cent.* deducted from the foreign
 “troops, was public money, and ought to be ac-
 “counted for:” which resolutions were laid be-
 fore the queen by the whole house, and her ma-
 jesty promised to do her part in redressing what was
 complained of. The duke and his friends had,
 about the beginning of the war, by their credit with
 the queen, procured a warrant from her majesty
 for this perquisite of two and a half *per cent.* The
 warrant was directed to the duke of *Marlborough*,
 and counter-signed by Sir *Charles Hedges*, then se-
 cretary of state; by virtue of which the paymaster-
 general of the army was to pay the said deducted
 money to the general, and take a receipt in full
 from the foreign troops.

It

It was observed, as very commendable and becoming the dignity of such an assembly, that this debate was managed with great temper, and with few personal reflexions upon the duke of *Marlborough*. They seemed only desirous to come at the truth, without which they could not answer the trust reposed in them by those whom they represented, and left the rest to her majesty's prudence. The attorney-general was ordered to commence an action against the duke for the substracted money, which would have amounted to a great sum, enough to ruin any private person, except himself. This process is still depending, although very moderately pursued, either by the queen's indulgence to one whom she had formerly so much trusted, or perhaps to be revived or slackened, according to the future demeanour of the defendant.

Some time after, Mr. *Cardonell*, a member of parliament, and secretary to the general in *Flanders*, was expelled the house, for the offence of receiving yearly bribes from those who had contracted to furnish bread for the army; and met with no further punishment for a practice, voted to be unwarrantable and corrupt.

These were all the censures of any moment which the commons, under so great a weight of business, thought fit to make, upon the reports of their commissioners for inspecting the publick accounts. But having promised, in the beginning of this History, to examine the state of the nation, with respect to its debts; by what negligence or

corruption they first began, and in process of time made such a prodigious increase; and, lastly, what courses have been taken, under the present administration, to find out funds for answering so many unprovided incumbrances, as well as put a stop to new ones; I shall endeavour to satisfy the reader upon this important article.

By all I have yet read of the history of our own country, it appears to me, that the national debts, secured upon parliamentary funds of interest, were things unknown in *England* before the last revolution under the prince of *Orange*. It is true, that in the grand rebellion the king's enemies borrowed money of particular persons, upon what they called the public faith; but this was only for short periods, and the sums no more than what they could pay at once, as they constantly did. Some of our kings have been very profuse in peace and war, and are blamed in history for their oppressions of the people by severe taxes, and for borrowing money which they never paid: but national debts was a style, which, I doubt, would hardly then be understood. When the prince of *Orange* was raised to the throne, and a general war began in these parts of *Europe*, the king and his counsellors thought it would be ill policy to commence his reign with heavy taxes upon the people, who had lived long in ease and plenty, and might be apt to think their deliverance too dearly bought: wherefore one of the first actions of the new government was to take off the tax upon chimnies, as a burthen very ungrateful

grateful to the commonalty. But money being wanted to support the war (which even the convention-parliament, that put the crown upon his head, were very unwilling he should engage in), the present bishop of *Salisbury* [b] is said to have found out that expedient (which he had learned in *Holland*) of raising money upon the security of taxes, that were only sufficient to pay a large interest. The motives which prevailed on people to fall in with this project were many, and plausible; for supposing, as the ministers industriously gave out, that the war could not last above one or two campaigns at most, it might be carried on with very moderate taxes; and the debts accruing would, in process of time, be easily cleared after a peace. Then the bait of large interest would draw in a great number of those whose money, by the dangers and difficulties of trade, lay dead upon their hands; and whoever were lenders to the government would, by surest principle, be obliged to support it. Besides, the men of estates could not be persuaded, without time and difficulty, to have those taxes laid on their lands, which custom hath since made so familiar; and it was the business of such as were then in power to cultivate a monied interest; because the gentry of the kingdom did not very much relish those new notions in government, to which the king, who had imbibed his politics in his own country, was thought to give too

[b] Dr. Gilbert Burnet.

much way. Neither perhaps did that prince think national incumbrances to be any evil at all, since the flourishing republick, where he was born, is thought to owe more than ever it will be able or willing to pay. And I remember, when I mentioned to Mons. *Buys* the many millions we owed, he would advance it as a maxim, that it was for the interest of the publick to be in debt; which, perhaps, may be true in a commonwealth so crazily instituted, where the govenors cannot have too many pledges of their subjects fidelity, and where a great majority must inevitably be undone by any revolution, however brought about: but to prescribe the same rules to a monarchy, whose wealth ariseth from the rents and improvements of lands, as well as trade and manufactures, is the mark of a confined and cramped understanding.

I was moved to speak thus, because I am very well satisfied, that the pernicious counsels of borrowing money upon public funds of interest, as well as some other state-lessons, were taken indigested from the like practices among the *Dutch*, without allowing in the least for any difference in government, religion, law, custom, extent of country, or manners and dispositions of the people.

But when this expedient of anticipations and mortgages was first put in practice, artful men, in office and credit, began to consider what uses it might be applied to; and soon found it was likely to prove the most fruitful seminary, not only to establish a action they intended to set up for their own support, but likewise to raise vast wealth for themselves

themselves in particular, who were to be the managers and directors in it. It was manifest, that nothing could promote these two designs so much, as burthening the nation with debts; and giving encouragement to lenders: for, as to the first, it was not to be doubted, that moneyed men would be always firm to the party of those who advised the borrowing upon such good security; and with such exorbitant premiums and interest; and every new sum that was lent, took away as much power from the landed men, as it added to theirs: so that the deeper the kingdom was engaged, it was still the better for them. Thus a new estate and property sprung up in the hands of mortgagees, to whom every house and foot of land in *England* paid a rent-charge, free of all taxes and defalcations, and purchased at less than half value. So that the gentlemen of estates were, in effect, but tenants to these new landlords; many of whom were able, in time, to force the election of boroughs out of the hands of those who had been the old proprietors and inhabitants. This was arrived at such a height, that a very few years more of war and funds would have clearly cast the balance on the monied side.

As to the second, this project of borrowing upon funds was of mighty advantage to those who were in the management of it, as well as to their friends and dependants; for, funds proving often deficient, the government was obliged to strike tallies for making up the rest, which tallies were
sometimes

sometimes (to speak in the merchants phrase) at above forty *per cent.* discount. At this price those who were in the secret bought them up, and then took care to have that deficiency supplied in the next session of parliament, by which they doubled their principal in a few months; and, for the encouragement of lenders, every new project of lotteries or annuities proposed some farther advantage, either as to interest or premium.

In the year 1697, a general mortgage was made of certain revenues and taxes already settled, which amounted to near a million a year. This mortgage was to continue till 1706, to be a fund for the payment of about five millions one hundred thousand pounds. In the first parliament of the queen, the said mortgage was continued till 1710, to supply a deficiency of 2,300,000 pounds, and interest of above a million; and in the intermediate years a great part of that fund was branched out into annuities for 99 years; so that the late ministry raised all their money to 1710, only by continuing funds which were already granted to their hands. This deceived the people in general, who were satisfied to continue the payments they had been accustomed to, and made the administration seem easy, since the war went on without any new taxes raised, except the very last year they were in power: not considering what a mighty fund was exhausted, and must be perpetuated, although extremely injurious to trade, and to the true interest of the nation.

This great fund of the general mortgage was not only loaded, year after year, by mighty sums borrowed upon it, but with the interest due upon those sums; for which the treasury was forced to strike tallies, payable out of that fund, after all the money already borrowed upon it, there being no other provision of interest for three or four years: till at last the fund was so overloaded, that it could neither pay principal nor interest, and tallies were struck for both, which occasioned their great discount.

But to avoid mistakes upon a subject, where I am not very well versed either in the style or matter, I will transcribe an account sent me by a person [i] who is thoroughly instructed in these affairs.

“ In the year 1707, the sum of 822,381 pounds,
 “ 15 shillings and 6 pence, was raised, by continuing part of the general mortgage from 1710
 “ to 1712; but with no provision of interest till
 “ *August* the first, 1710, otherwise than by striking
 “ tallies for it on that fund, payable after all the other
 “ money borrowed.

“ In 1708, the same funds were continued
 “ from 1712 to 1714, to raise 729,067 pounds 15
 “ shillings and 6 pence; but no provision for interest till *August* the first, 1712, otherwise than
 “ as before, by striking tallies for it on the same
 “ fund, payable after all the rest of the money

[i] Sir John Blunt.

“ bor-

“ borrowed. And the discount of tallies then
 “ beginning to rise, great part of that money
 “ remains still unraised; and there is nothing
 “ thing to pay interest for the money lent, till *Au-*
 “ *gust* the first, 1712. But the late lord treasurer
 “ struck tallies for the full sum directed by the act
 “ to be borrowed, great part of which have been
 “ delivered in payment to the navy and victualling-
 “ offices, and some are still in the hands of the go-
 “ vernment.

“ In 1709, part of the same fund was continued
 “ from *August* the first, 1714, to *August* the first,
 “ 1716, to raise 645,000 pounds; and no provision
 “ for interest till *August* the first, 1714 (which was
 “ about five years), but by borrowing money on
 “ the same fund, payable after the sums before
 “ lent; so that little of that money was lent. But
 “ the tallies were struck for what was unlent, some
 “ of which were given out for the payment of the
 “ navy and victualling, and some still remain in
 “ the hands of the government.

“ In 1710, the sums which were before given
 “ from 1714, to 1716, were continued from thence
 “ to 1720, to raise 1,296,552 pounds, 9 shillings
 “ and 11 pence 3 farthings; and no immediate
 “ provision for interest till *August* the first, 1716,
 “ only, after the duty of one shilling *per* bushel on
 “ salt should be cleared from the money it was then
 “ charged with, and which was not so cleared till
 “ *Midsummer* 1712 last; then that fund was to be
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“ 1716, which interest amounted to about seventy-
 “ seven thousand seven hundred and ninety-three
 “ pounds *per annum* : and the said salt fund pro-
 “ duceth but about fifty-five thousand pounds *per*
 “ *annum* ; so that no money was borrowed upon
 “ the general mortgage in 1710, except one hun-
 “ dred and fifty thousand pounds lent by the *Swiss*
 “ Cantons ; but tallies were struck for the whole
 “ sum. These all remained in the late treasurer’s
 “ hands at the time of his removal, yet the money
 “ was expended, which occasioned those great de-
 “ mands upon the commissioners of the treasury
 “ who succeeded him, and were forced to pawn
 “ those tallies to the Bank, or to remitters, rather
 “ than sell them at 20 or 25 *per cent.* discount, as
 “ the price then was. About 200,000 pounds of
 “ them they paid to clothiers of the army, and
 “ others ; and all the rest, being above 90,000
 “ pounds, have been subscribed into the South-
 “ sea company, for the use of the publick.”

When the earl of *Godolphin* was removed from
 his employment, he left a debt upon the Navy of
 millions, all contracted under his administration,
 which had no parliament-security, and was daily
 increased. Neither could I ever learn, whether
 that lord had the smallest prospect of clearing this
 incumbrance, or whether there were policy, neg-
 ligence, or despair at the bottom of this unaccount-
 able management. But the consequences were vi-
 sible and ruinous ; for by this means navy-bills
 grew to be forty *per cent.* discount, and upwards

and almost every kind of stores, bought by the navy and victualling-offices, cost the government double rates, and sometimes more: so that the publick hath directly lost several millions upon this one article, without any sort of necessity, that I could ever hear assigned by the ablest vindicators of that party.

In this oppressed and intangled state was the kingdom, with relation to its debts, when the queen removed the earl of *Godolphin* from his office, and put it into commission, of which the present treasurer was one. This person had been chosen speaker successively to three parliaments, was afterwards secretary of state, and always in great esteem with the queen for his wisdom and fidelity. The late ministry, about two years before their fall, had prevailed with her majesty, much against her inclination, to dismiss him from her service; for which they cannot be justly blamed, since he had endeavoured the same thing against them, and very narrowly failed; which makes it the more extraordinary that he should succeed in a second attempt against those very adversaries, who had such fair warning by the first. He is firm and steady in his resolutions, not easily diverted from them after he hath once possessed himself of an opinion that they are right, nor very communicative where he can act by himself, being taught by experience, that a secret is seldom safe in more than one breast. That which occurs to other men after mature deliberation, offers to him as his first thoughts; so that he

decides immediately what is best to be done, and therefore is seldom at a loss upon sudden exigencies. He thinks it a more easy and safe rule in politics, to watch incidents as they come, and then turn them to the advantage of what he pursues, than pretend to foresee them at a great distance. Fear, cruelty, avarice, and pride, are wholly strangers to his nature; but he is not without ambition. There is one thing peculiar in his temper, which I altogether disapprove, and do not remember to have heard or met with in any other man's character: I mean, an easiness and indifference under any imputation, although he be never so innocent, and although the strongest probabilities and appearances are against him; so that I have known him often suspected by his nearest friends, for some months, in points of the highest importance, to a degree, that they were ready to break with him, and only undeceived by time and accident. His detractors, who charge him with cunning, are but ill acquainted with his character; for, in the sense they take the word, and as it is usually understood, I know no man to whom that mean talent could be with less justice applied, as the conduct of affairs, while he hath been at the helm, doth clearly demonstrate, very contrary to the nature and principles of cunning, which is always employed in serving little turns, proposing little ends, and supplying daily exigencies by little shifts and expedients. But to rescue a prince out of the hands of insolent subjects, bent upon such designs

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as must probably end in the ruin of the government ; to find out means for paying such exorbitant debts as this nation hath been involved in, and reduce it to a better management ; to make a potent enemy offer advantageous terms of peace, and deliver up the most important fortrefs of his kingdom as a security ; and this against all the opposition, mutually raised and inflamed by parties and allies ; such performances can only be called cunning by those whose want of understanding, or of candour, puts them upon finding ill names for great qualities of the mind, which themselves do neither possess, nor can form any just conception of. However, it must be allowed, that an obstinate love of secrecy in this minister seems, at distance, to have some resemblance of cunning ; for he is not only very retentive of secrets, but appears to be so too, which I number amongst his defects. He hath been blamed by his friends for refusing to discover his intentions, even in those points where the wisest man may have need of advice and assistance ; and some have censured him upon that account, as if he were jealous of power : but he hath been heard to answer, “ That he seldom did otherwise without cause to repent.”

However, so undistinguished a caution cannot, in my opinion, be justified, by which the owner loseth many advantages, and whereof all men, who deserved to be confided in, may with some reason complain. His love of procrastination (wherein doubtless nature hath her share) may

probably be increased by the same means ; but this is an imputation laid upon many other great ministers, who, like men under too heavy a load, let fall that which is of the least consequence, and go back to fetch it when their shoulders are free ; for time is often gained, as well as lost, by delay, which at worst is a fault on the securer side. Neither probably is this minister answerable for half the clamour raised against him upon that article : his endeavours are wholly turned upon the general welfare of his country, but perhaps with too little regard to that of particular persons, which renders him less amiable, than he would otherwise have been from the goodness of his humour, and agreeable conversation in a private capacity, and with few dependers. Yet some allowance may perhaps be given to this failing, which is one of the greatest he hath, since he cannot be more careless of other men's fortunes than he is of his own. He is master of a very great and faithful memory, which is of mighty use in the management of public affairs ; and I believe there are few examples to be produced in any age, of a person who hath passed through so many employments in the state, endowed with a great share, both of divine and human learning.

I am persuaded that foreigners, as well as those at home who live too remote from the scene of business to be rightly informed, will not be displeased with this account of a person, who, in the space of two years, hath been so highly instrumental in
changing

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changing the face of affairs in *Europe*, and hath deserved so well of his own prince and country.

In that perplexed condition of the public debts, which I have already described, this minister was brought into the treasury and exchequer, and had the chief direction of affairs. His first regulation was that of exchequer bills, which, to the great discouragement of public credit, and scandal to the crown, were three *per cent.* less in value than the sums specified in them. The present treasurer, being then chancellor of the exchequer, procured an act of parliament, by which the bank of *England* should be obliged, in consideration of forty-five thousand pounds, to accept and circulate those bills without any discount. He then proceeded to stop the depredations of those who dealt in remittances of money to the army, who, by unheard-of exactions in that kind of traffick, had amassed prodigious wealth at the public cost, to which the earl of *Godolphin* had given too much way, [*k*] *possibly by neglect; for I think he cannot be accused of corruption.*

But the new treasurer's chief concern was to restore the credit of the nation, by finding some settlement for unprovided debts, amounting in the whole to ten millions, which hung on the publick as a load equally heavy and disgraceful, without any prospect of being removed, and which former ministers never had the care or courage to inspect.

[*k*] Added in the author's own hand-writing:

He

He resolved to go at once to the bottom of this evil; and having computed and summed up the debt of the navy, and victualling, ordnance, and transport of the army, and transport debentures made out for the service of the last war, of the general mortgage-tallies for the year 1710, and some other deficiencies, he then found out a fund of interest sufficient to answer all this, which, being applied to other uses, could not raise present money for the war, but in a very few years would clear the debt it was engaged for. The intermediate accruing interest was to be paid by the treasurer of the navy; and, as a farther advantage to the creditors, they should be erected into a company for trading to the South-seas, and for encouragement of fishery. When all this was fully prepared and digested, he made a motion in the house of commons (who deferred extremely to his judgement and abilities) for paying the debts of the navy, and other unprovided deficiencies, without entering into particulars, which was immediately voted. But a sudden stop was put to this affair by an unforeseen accident. The chancellor of the exchequer (which was then his title) being stabbed with a penknife, the following day, at the cockpit, in the midst of a dozen lords of the council, by the *sieur de Guiscard*, a *French* papist; the circumstances of which fact being not within the compass of this history, I shall only observe, that, after two months confinement,

and frequent danger of his life, he returned to his seat in parliament [1].

The overtures made by this minister, of paying so vast a debt, under the pressures of a long war, and the difficulty of finding supplies for continuing it, was, during the time of his illness, ridiculed by his enemies as an impracticable and visionary project: and when, upon his return to the house, he had explained his proposal, the very proprietors of the debt were, many of them, prevailed on to oppose it; although the obtaining this trade, either through *Old Spain*, or directly to the *Spanish West-Indies*, had been one principal end we aimed at by this war. However, the bill passed; and, as an immediate consequence, the naval bills rose to about twenty *per cent.* nor ever fell within ten of their discount. Another good effect of this work appeared by the parliamentary lotteries, which have been since erected. The last of that kind, under the former ministry, was eleven weeks in filling; whereas the first, under the present, was filled in a very few hours, although it cost the government less; and the others, which followed, were full before the acts concerning them could pass. And to prevent incumbrances of this kind from growing for the future, he took care, by the utmost parsimony, or by suspending payments, where they seemed less to press, that all stores for the navy should be bought with ready money; by which *cent.*

[1] See the particular account in the Examiner, the eighth volume of this collection.

per cent. hath been saved in that mighty article of our expence, as will appear from an account taken at the victualling-office on the 9th of *August*, 1712. And the payment of the interest was less a burthen upon the navy, by the stores being bought at so cheap a rate.

It might look invidious to enter into farther particulars upon this head, but of smaller moment. What I have above related, may serve to shew in how ill a condition the kingdom stood, with relation to its debts, by the corruption as well as negligence of former management; and what prudent, effectual measures have since been taken to provide for old incumbrances, and hinder the running into new. This may be sufficient for the information of the reader, perhaps already tired with a subject so little entertaining as that of accounts: I shall therefore now return to relate some of the principal matters that passed in parliament, during this session.

Upon the 18th of *January*, the house of lords sent down a bill to the commons, for fixing the precedence of the *Hanover* family, which probably had been forgot in the acts for settling the succession of the crown. That of *Henry VIII.* which gives the rank to princes of the blood, carries it no farther than to nephews, nieces, and grand-children of the crown; by virtue of which the princess *Sophia* is a princess of the blood, as niece to king *Charles I.* of *England*, and precedes accordingly; but this privilege doth not descend to her son the elector,

elector, or the electoral prince. To supply which defect, and pay a compliment to the presumptive heirs of the crown, this bill, as appeareth by the preamble, was recommended by her majesty to the house of lords; which the commons, to shew their zeal for every thing that might be thought to concern the interest or honour of that illustrious family, ordered to be read thrice, and passed *nemine contradicente*, and returned to the lords, without any amendment, on the very day it was sent down.

But the house seemed to have nothing more at heart than a strict inquiry into the state of the nation, with respect to foreign alliances. Some discourses had been published in print, about the beginning of the session, boldly complaining of certain articles in the Barrier-treaty, concluded about three years since by the lord viscount *Townshend*, between *Great Britain* and the States General; and shewing, in many particulars, the unequal conduct of these powers in our alliance, in furnishing their quotas and supplies. It was asserted by the same writers, "That these hardships, put
" upon *England*, had been countenanced and encouraged by a party here at home, in order to
" preserve their power, which could be no otherwise maintained than by continuing the war, as
" well as by her majesty's general abroad, upon account of his own peculiar interest and grandeur." These loud accusations spreading themselves throughout the kingdom, delivered in facts directly charged, and thought, whether true or not, to be

be but weakly confuted, had fufficiently prepared the minds of the people; and, by putting arguments into every body's mouth, had filled the town and country with controverfies, both in writing and difcourfe. The point appeared to be of great confequence, whether the war continued or not: for, in the former cafe, it was neceffary that the allies fhould be brought to a more equal regulation; and that the States in particular, for whom her majefty had done fuch great things, fhould explain and correct thofe articles in the Barrier-treaty which were prejudicial to *Britain*; and, in either cafe, it was fit the people fhould have at leaft the fatisfaction of knowing by whose counfels, and for what defigns, they had been fo hardly treated.

In order to this great enquiry, the Barrier-treaty, with all other treaties and agreements entered into between her majefty and her allies, during the prefent war, for the raifing and augmenting the proportions for the fervice thereof, were, by the queen's directions, laid before the houfe.

Several refolutions were drawn up, and reported at different times, upon the deficiencies of the allies in furnifhing their quotas, upon certain articles in the Barrier-treaty, and upon the ftate of the war; by all which it appeared, that whatever had been charged by public difcourfes in print againft the late miniftry, and the conduct of the allies, was much lefs than the truth. Upon thefe refolutions (by one of which the lord viscount *Townfend*, who negotiated and figned the Barrier-treaty, was declared

clared an enemy to the queen and kingdom), and upon some farther directions to the committee, a representation was formed; and soon after the commons in a body presented it to the queen, the endeavours of the adyerse party not prevailing to have it re-committed.

This representation (supposed to be the work of Sir *Thomas Hanmer's* pen) is written with much energy and spirit, and will be a very useful authentic record, for the assistance of those who at any time shall undertake to write the history of the present times.

I did intend, for brevity sake, to have given the reader only an abstract of it; but, upon trial, found myself unequal to such a task, without injuring so excellent a piece. And although I think historical relations are but ill patched up with long transcripts already printed, which, upon that account, I have hitherto avoided; yet this being the sum of all debates and resolutions of the house of commons in that great affair of the war, I conceived it could not be well omitted.

“ Most gracious Sovereign,

“ We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal
 “ subjects, the commons of *Great Britain* in parlia-
 “ ment assembled, having nothing so much at heart,
 “ as to enable your majesty to bring this long and
 “ expensive war to an honourable and happy con-
 “ clusion, have taken it into our most serious con-
 “ sideration, how the necessary supplies to be pro-
 “ vided

“ vided by us may be best applied, and how the
 “ common cause may in the most effectual man-
 “ ner be carried on, by the united force of the
 “ whole confederacy; we have thought ourselves
 “ obliged, in duty to your majesty, and in dis-
 “ charge of the trust reposed in us, to inquire into
 “ the true state of the war, in all its parts; we have
 “ examined what stipulations have been entered in-
 “ to between your majesty and your allies; and
 “ how far such engagements have on each side been
 “ made good. We have considered the different
 “ interests which the confederates have in the suc-
 “ cess of this war, and the different shares they
 “ have contributed to its support: we have with
 “ our utmost care and diligence endeavoured to
 “ discover the nature, extent, and charge of it, to
 “ the end that, by comparing the weight thereof
 “ with our own strength, we might adapt the one
 “ to the other in such measure, as neither to con-
 “ tinue your majesty’s subjects under a heavier bur-
 “ then than in reason and justice they ought to
 “ bear; nor deceive your majesty, your allies, and
 “ ourselves, by undertaking more than the nation
 “ in its present circumstances is able to perform.

“ Your majesty has been graciously pleased, up-
 “ on our humble applications, to order such mate-
 “ rials to be laid before us, as have furnished us
 “ with the necessary information upon the particu-
 “ lars we have inquired into; and when we shall
 “ have laid before your majesty our observations,
 “ and humble advice upon this subject, we pro-

“ mise to ourselves this happy fruit from it, that, if
 “ your majesty’s generous and good purposes, for
 “ the procuring a safe and lasting peace, should,
 “ through the obstinacy of the enemy, or by any
 “ other means, be unhappily defeated, a true know-
 “ ledge and understanding of the past conduct of
 “ the war will be the best foundation for a more
 “ frugal and equal management of it for the time
 “ to come.

“ In order to take the more perfect view of what
 “ we proposed, and that we might be able to set
 “ the whole before your majesty in a true light, we
 “ have thought it necessary to go back to the begin-
 “ ning of the war, and beg leave to observe the
 “ motives and reasons, upon which his late majesty
 “ king *William* first engaged in it. The treaty
 “ of the grand alliance explains those reasons to be,
 “ for the supporting the pretensions of his imperi-
 “ al majesty, then actually engaged in a war with
 “ the *French* king, who had usurped the intire
 “ *Spanish* monarchy for his grandson the duke of
 “ *Anjou* ; and for the assisting the States general,
 “ who, by the loss of their barrier against *France*,
 “ were then in the same, or a more dangerous con-
 “ dition, than if they were actually invaded. As
 “ these were the just and necessary motives for un-
 “ dertaking this war, so the ends proposed to be
 “ obtained by it were equally wise and honoura-
 “ ble ; for, as they are set forth in the eighth arti-
 “ cle of the same treaty, they appear to have been
 “ *the procuring an equitable and reasonable satisfacti-*

“ on to his imperial majesty, and sufficient securities
 “ for the dominions, provinces, navigation, and com-
 “ merce, of the king of Great Britain, and the States
 “ General, and the making effectual provision, that
 “ the two kingdoms of France and Spain should never
 “ be united under the same government ; and particu-
 “ larly, that the French should never get into the
 “ possession of the Spanish West-Indies, or be per-
 “ mitted to sail thither, upon the account of traffick,
 “ or under any pretence whatsoever ; and lastly,
 “ the securing to the subjects of the king of Great
 “ Britain, and the States General, all the same
 “ privileges, and rights of commerce, through-
 “ out the whole dominions of Spain, as they en-
 “ joyed before the death of Charles II. king of
 “ Spain, by virtue of any treaty, agreement, or
 “ custom, or any other way whatsoever. For the
 “ obtaining these ends, the three confederated pow-
 “ ers engaged to assist one another with their whole
 “ force, according to such proportions as should be
 “ specified in a particular convention, afterwards
 “ to be made for that purpose: we do not find
 “ that any such convention was ever ratified : but
 “ it appears, that there was an agreement con-
 “ cluded, which, by common consent, was un-
 “ derstood to be binding upon each party respect-
 “ ively, and according to which the proportions of
 “ Great Britain were from the beginning regulated
 “ and founded. The terms of that agreement were,
 “ that, for the service at land, his imperial majesty
 “ should furnish ninety thousand men, the king of
 “ Great

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" *Great Britain* forty thousand, and the States
" General one hundred and two thousand, of
" which there were forty-two thousand intend-
" ed to supply their garrisons, and sixty thousand
" to act against the common enemy in the field ;
" and with regard to the operations of the war at
" sea, they were agreed to be performed jointly by
" *Great Britain* and the States general, the quota
" of ships to be furnished for that service being
" five eighths on the part of *Great Britain* and three
" eighths on the part of the States general.

" Upon this foot, the war began in the year
" 1702, at which time the whole yearly expence
" of it to *England* amounted to three mil-
" lions, seven hundred and six thousand, four
" hundred ninety-four pounds ; a very great charge,
" as it was then thought by your majesty's subjects,
" after the short interval of ease they had enjoyed
" from the burden of the former war, but yet a
" very moderate proportion, in comparison with the
" load which hath since been laid upon them : for
" it appears, by estimates given in to your
" commons, that the sums necessary to carry on
" the service for this present year, in the same
" manner as it was performed the last year, amount
" to more than six millions nine hundred and sixty
" thousand pounds, besides interest for the public
" debts, and the deficiencies accruing the last year,
" which two articles require one million one hun-
" dred and forty-three thousand pounds more : so
" that the whole demands upon your commons are
" arisen to more than eight millions for the present

“ annual supply. We know your majesty’s ten-
 “ der regard for the welfare of your people will
 “ make it uneasy to you to hear of so great a pres-
 “ sure as this upon them ; and as we are assured,
 “ it will fully convince your majesty of the neces-
 “ sity of our present inquiry ; so we beg leave to
 “ represent to you, from what causes, and by
 “ what steps, this immense charge appears to have
 “ grown upon us.

“ The service at sea, as it has been very large
 “ and extensive in itself, so it has been carried on,
 “ through the whole course of the war, in a man-
 “ ner highly disadvantageous to your majesty and
 “ your kingdom : for, the necessity of affairs re-
 “ quiring that great fleets should be fitted out
 “ every year, as well for the maintaining a su-
 “ periority in the *Mediterranean*, as for oppo-
 “ sing any force which the enemy might pre-
 “ pare, either at *Dunkirk* or in the ports of *West*
 “ *France*, your majesty’s example and readiness in
 “ fitting out your proportion of ships, for all parts
 “ of that service, have been so far from prevailing
 “ with the States General to keep pace with you
 “ that they have been deficient every year to a great
 “ degree, in proportion to what your majesty hath
 “ furnished ; sometimes no less than two thirds, and
 “ generally more than half of their quota : from
 “ hence your majesty has been obliged, for the
 “ preventing disappointments in the most pressing
 “ service, to supply those deficiencies by additional
 “ reinforcements of your own ships ; nor hath the
 “ single increase of such a charge been the only in-
 “ con-

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“ consequence that attended it ; for by this means
“ the debt of the navy hath been enhanced, so that
“ the discounts arising upon the credit of it have
“ affected all other parts of the service, from the
“ same cause. Your majesty’s ships of war have
“ been forced in greater numbers to continue in re-
“ mote seas, and at unseasonable times of the year,
“ to the great damage and decay of the *British* na-
“ vy. This also hath been the occasion that your
“ majesty hath been streighted in your convoys
“ for trade ; your coasts have been exposed, for
“ want of a sufficient number of cruisers to guard
“ them ; and you have been disabled from annoy-
“ ing the enemy, in their most beneficial commerce
“ with the *West-Indies*, from whence they received
“ those vast supplies of treasure, without which
“ they could not have supported the expences of this
“ war.

“ That part of the war which hath been carried
“ on in *Flanders*, was at first immediately neces-
“ sary to the security of the States General, and
“ hath since brought them great acquisitions, both
“ of revenue and dominion ; yet even there the
“ original proportions have been departed from,
“ and, during the course of the war, have been
“ sinking by degrees on the part of *Holland* ; so
“ that, in this last year, we find the number in
“ which they fell short of their three fifths, to your
“ majesty’s two fifths, have been twenty thousand
“ eight hundred and thirty-seven men : we are not
“ unmindful, that, in the year 1703, a treaty was

“ made between the two nations, for a joint aug-
 “ mentation of twenty thousand men, wherein the
 “ proportions were varied, and *England* consented
 “ to take half upon itself. But, it having been an-
 “ nexed as an exprefs condition to the grant of
 “ the said augmentation in parliament, that the
 “ States General should prohibit all trade and com-
 “ merce with *France*, and that condition having not
 “ been performed by them, the commons think it
 “ reasonable, that the first rule of three to two ought
 “ to have taken place again, as well in that as in
 “ other subsequent augmentations, more especially
 “ when they consider, that the revenues of those
 “ rich provinces which have been conquered would,
 “ if they were duly applied, maintain a great num-
 “ ber of new additional forces against the common
 “ enemy ; notwithstanding which, the States Ge-
 “ neral have raised none upon that account, but
 “ make use of those fresh supplies of money, only
 “ to ease themselves in the charge of their first esta-
 “ blished quota.

“ As in the progress of the war in *Flanders*, a
 “ disproportion was soon created to the prejudice
 “ of *England* ; so the very beginning of the war
 “ in *Portugal* brought an unequal share of burden
 “ upon us ; for although the emperor and the States
 “ General were equally parties with your majesty
 “ in the treaty with the king of *Portugal*, yet the
 “ emperor neither furnishing his third part of the
 “ troops and subsidies stipulated for, nor the *Dutch*
 “ consenting to take an equal share of his imperial
 “ majesty’s defect upon themselves, your majesty
 “ hath

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" hath been obliged to furnish two thirds of the in-
 " tire expence created by that service. Nor has
 " the inequality stopped there ; for ever since the
 " year 1706, when the *English* and *Dutch* forces
 " marched out of *Portugal* into *Castile*, the States
 " General have intirely abandoned the war in
 " *Portugal*, and left your majesty to prosecute it
 " singly at your own charge, which you have ac-
 " cordingly done, by re-placing a greater number
 " of troops there, than even at first you took upon
 " you to provide. At the same time, your majesty's
 " generous endeavours, for the support and defence
 " of the king of *Portugal*, have been but ill seconded
 " by that prince himself ; for, notwithstanding that
 " by his treaty he had obliged himself to furnish
 " twelve thousand foot, and three thousand
 " horse, upon his own account, besides eleven
 " thousand foot, and two thousand horse
 " more, in consideration of a subsidy paid him ;
 " yet, according to the best information your
 " commons can procure, it appears, that he hath
 " scarce at any time furnished thirteen thousand
 " men in the whole.

" In *Spain*, the war hath been yet more unequal,
 " and burdensome to your majesty, than in any
 " other branch of it ; for, being commenced without
 " any treaty whatsoever, the allies have almost
 " wholly declined taking any part of it upon them-
 " selves. A small body of *English* and *Dutch* troops
 " were sent thither in the year 1705, not as being
 " thought sufficient to support a regular war, or to
 " make the conquest of so large a country ; but

“ with a view only of assisting the *Spaniards* to set
 “ king *Charles* upon the throne ; occasioned by the
 “ great assurances which were given of their in-
 “ clinations to the house of *Austria* : but this ex-
 “ pectation failing, *England* was insensibly drawn
 “ into an established war, under all the disadvanta-
 “ ges of the distance of the place, and the feeble
 “ efforts of the other allies. The account we have
 “ to lay before your majesty, upon this head, is,
 “ that, although the undertaking was entered upon
 “ at the particular and earnest request of the impe-
 “ rial court, and for a cause of no less importance
 “ and concern to them, than the reducing the *Spa-*
 “ *nish* monarchy to the house of *Austria* ; yet nei-
 “ ther the late emperors, nor his present imperial
 “ majesty, have ever had any forces there on their
 “ account, till the last year ; and then, only one
 “ regiment of foot, consisting of two thousand men.
 “ Though the States General have contributed
 “ something more to this service, yet their share al-
 “ so hath been inconsiderable ; for in the space of
 “ four years, from 1705 to 1708, both inclusive,
 “ all the forces they have sent into that country
 “ have not exceeded twelve thousand two hundred
 “ men ; and from the year 1708 to this time,
 “ they have not sent any forces or recruits whatso-
 “ ever. To your majesty’s care and charge, the
 “ recovery of that kingdom hath been in a manner
 “ wholly left, as if none else were interested or concern-
 “ ed in it. And the forces which your majesty hath
 “ sent into *Spain*, in the space of seven years, from

“ 1705

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“ 1705 to 1711, both inclusive, have amounted
“ to no less than fifty-seven thousand nine hundred
“ seventy-three men, besides thirteen batalions and
“ eighteen squadrons, for which your majesty
“ hath paid a subsidy to the emperor.

“ How great the established expence of a number
“ of men hath been, your majesty very well knows,
“ and your commons very sensibly feel; but the
“ weight will be found much greater, when it is
“ considered how many heavy articles of unusual
“ and extraordinary charge have attended this re-
“ mote and difficult service, all which have been
“ entirely defrayed by your majesty, except that
“ one of transporting the few forces, which were
“ sent by the States General, and the victualling
“ of them during their transportation only. The
“ accounts delivered to your commons shew, that
“ the charge of your majesty’s ships and vessels, em-
“ ployed in the service of the war in *Spain* and *Por-*
“ *tugal*, reckoned after the rate of four pounds a man
“ *per* month, from the time they sailed from hence,
“ till they returned, were lost, or put upon other
“ services, hath amounted to six millions five hun-
“ dred forty thousand nine hundred and sixty-six
“ pounds, fourteen shillings: the charge of tran-
“ sports on the part of *Great Britain*, for carrying
“ on the war in *Spain* and *Portugal*, from the be-
“ ginning of it till this time, hath amounted to one
“ million three hundred thirty-six thousand seven
“ hundred and nineteen pounds, nineteen shillings,
“ and eleven-pence; that of victualling land-for-

“ ces

“ces for the same service, to five hundred eighty-
 “three thousand seven hundred and seventy pounds,
 “eight shillings, and six-pence; and that of con-
 “tingencies, and other extraordinaries for the
 “same service, to one million eight hundred for-
 “ty thousand three hundred and fifty-three pounds.

“We should take notice to your majesty of fe-
 “veral sums paid upon account of contingencies,
 “and extraordinaries in *Flanders*, making together
 “the sum of one million one hundred seven thou-
 “sand and ninety-six pounds: but we are not able
 “to make any comparison of them, with what the
 “States General have expended upon the same
 “head, having no such state of their extraordinary
 “charge before us. There remains therefore but
 “one particular more for your majesty’s observati-
 “on, which arises from the subsidies paid to foreign
 “princes. These, at the beginning of the war,
 “were borne in equal proportion by your majesty,
 “and the States General; but in this instance also,
 “the balance hath been cast in prejudice of your
 “majesty: for it appears, that your majesty hath
 “since advanced more than your equal proportion,
 “three millions one hundred and fifty-five thou-
 “sand crowns, besides extraordinaries paid in *Italy*,
 “and not included in any of the foregoing articles,
 “which arise to five hundred thirty-nine thousand
 “five hundred and fifty-three pounds.

“We have laid these several particulars before your
 “majesty in the shortest manner we have been able;
 “and by an estimate grounded on the preceding
 “facts, it does appear, that, over and above the
 “quotas

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“quotas on the part of *Great Britain*, answering
“to those contributed by your allies, more than
“nineteen millions have been expended by your
“majesty, during the course of this war, by way
“of surplufage, or exceeding in balance, of
“which none of the confederates have furnished
“any thing whatsoever.

“It is with very great concern, that we find
“so much occasion given us, to represent how ill
“an use hath been made of your majesty’s and
“your subjects zeal for the common cause;
“that the interest of that cause hath not been
“proportionably promoted by it, but others
“only have been eased at your majesty’s and
“your subjects cost, and have been connived at,
“in laying their part of the burthen upon this king-
“dom, although they have upon all accounts been
“equally, and in most respects much more nearly,
“concerned than *Britain* in the issue of the war.
“We are persuaded your majesty will think it
“pardonable in us, with some resentment to com-
“plain of the little regard, which some of those,
“whom your majesty of late years intrusted, have
“shewn to the interest of their country, in giving
“way, at least, to such unreasonable impositions
“upon it, if not in some measure contriving
“them. The course of which impositions hath
“been so singular and extraordinary, that
“the more the wealth of this nation hath been
“exhausted, and the more your majesty’s arms
“have been attended with success, the heavier
“hath been the burthen laid upon us; whilst, on
“the other hand, the more vigorous your majesty’s
“efforts

“ efforts have been, and the greater the advantages
 “ which have redounded thence to your allies,
 “ the more those allies have abated in their share
 “ of the expence.

“ At the first entrance into this war, the commons
 “ were induced to exert themselves in the extraor-
 “ dinary manner they did, and to grant such large
 “ supplies as had been unknown to former ages,
 “ in hopes thereby to prevent the mischiefs of a
 “ lingering war, and to bring that, in which they
 “ were necessarily engaged, to a speedy conclusi-
 “ on; but they have been very unhappy in the
 “ event, whilst they have so much reason to sus-
 “ pect, that what was intended to shorten the war,
 “ hath proved the very cause of its long continu-
 “ ance; for those, to whom the profits of it have
 “ accrued, have not been disposed easily to forego
 “ them. And your majesty will from thence discern
 “ *the true reason, why so many have delighted in a war,*
 “ *which brought in so rich an harvest yearly from*
 “ Great Britain.

“ We are far from desiring, as we know your
 “ majesty will be from concluding, any peace, but
 “ upon safe and honourable terms; and we are far
 “ from intending to excuse ourselves from raising
 “ all necessary and possible supplies, for an effectual
 “ prosecution of the war, till such a peace can be
 “ obtained: all that your faithful commons aim
 “ at, all that they wish, is an equal concurrence
 “ from the other powers, engaged in alliance with
 “ your majesty; and a just application of what hath
 “ been

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“ been already gained from the enemy, towards
 “ promoting the common cause. Several large coun-
 “ tries and territories have been restored to the
 “ house of *Austria*, such as the kingdom of *Naples*,
 “ the dutchy of *Milan*, and other places in *Italy* ;
 “ others have been conquered, and added to their
 “ dominions, as the two electorates of *Bavaria* and
 “ *Cologne*, the dutchy of *Mantua*, and the bishop-
 “ rick of *Liege* ; these, having been reduced in
 “ great measure by our blood and treasure, may,
 “ we humbly conceive, with great reason, be
 “ claimed to come in aid towards carrying on the
 “ war in *Spain*. And therefore we make it our
 “ earnest request to your majesty, that you will
 “ give instructions to your ministers, to insist with
 “ the emperor, that the revenues of those several
 “ places, excepting only such a portion thereof as
 “ is necessary for their defence, be actually so ap-
 “ plied : and as to the other parts of the war, to
 “ which your majesty hath obliged yourself by par-
 “ ticular treaties to contribute, we humbly beseech
 “ your majesty, that you will be pleased to take ef-
 “ fectual care, that your allies do perform their
 “ parts stipulated by those treaties ; and that your
 “ majesty will, for the future, no otherwise furnish
 “ troops, or pay subsidies, than in proportion to
 “ what your allies shall actually furnish and pay :
 “ when this justice is done to your majesty, and to
 “ your people, there is nothing which your com-
 “ mons will not chearfully grant, towards sup-
 “ porting your majesty in the cause in which you
 “ are

“ are engaged. And whatever farther shall appear
 “ to be necessary for carrying on the war, either at
 “ sea or land, we will effectually enable your ma-
 “ jesty to bear your reasonable share of any such
 “ expence, and will spare no supplies which your
 “ subjects are able, with their utmost efforts, to af-
 “ ford.

“ After having enquired into, and considered
 “ the state of the war, in which the part your
 “ majesty has borne appears to have been, not
 “ only superior to that of any one ally, but even
 “ equal to that of the whole confederacy; your
 “ commons naturally inclined to hope, that they
 “ should find care had been taken of securing
 “ some particular advantages to *Britain*, in the
 “ terms of a future peace; such as might afford a
 “ prospect of making the nation amends, in time,
 “ for that immense treasure which has been expend-
 “ ed, and those heavy debts which have been con-
 “ tracted, in the course of so long and burthensome
 “ a war. This reasonable expectation could no
 “ way have been better answered, than by some
 “ provision made for the further security, and the
 “ great improvement, of the commerce of *Great*
 “ *Britain*; but we find ourselves so very far disap-
 “ pointed in these hopes, that, in a treaty not long
 “ since concluded between your majesty and the
 “ States General, under a colour of a mutual
 “ guarantee, given for two points of the greatest
 “ importance to both nations, the succession, and
 “ the barrier; it appears, the interest of *Great*
 “ *Britain*

“ *Britain* hath been not only neglected, but sacri-
 “ ficed; and that several articles in the said treaty
 “ are destructive to the trade and welfare of this
 “ kingdom, and therefore highly dishonourable to
 “ your majesty.

“ Your commons observe, in the first place,
 “ that several towns and places are, by virtue of
 “ this treaty, to be put into the hands of the States
 “ General, particularly *Newport, Dendermond,*
 “ and the castle of *Ghent*, which can in no sense
 “ be looked upon as a part of a barrier against
 “ *France*, but, being the keys of the *Netherlands*
 “ towards *Britain*, must make the trade of your
 “ majesty’s subjects in those parts precarious, and,
 “ whenever the States think fit, totally exclude
 “ them from it. The pretended necessity of put-
 “ ting these places into the hands of the States Ge-
 “ neral, in order to secure to them a communi-
 “ cation with their barrier, must appear vain and
 “ groundless; for the sovereignty of the *Low Coun-*
 “ *tries* being not to remain to an enemy, but to a
 “ friend and an ally, that communication must be
 “ always secure and uninterrupted; besides that,
 “ in case of a rupture, or an attack, the States
 “ have full liberty allowed them to take possession
 “ of all the *Spanish Netherlands*, and therefore need-
 “ ed no particular stipulation for the towns above-
 “ mentioned.

“ Having taken notice of this concession made to
 “ the States General, for seizing upon the whole
 “ ten provinces; we cannot but observe to your
 “ majesty,

“ majesty, that, in the manner this article is fram-
 “ ed, it is another dangerous circumstance which
 “ attends this treaty ; for, had such a provision been
 “ confined to the case of an apparent attack from
 “ *France* only, the avowed design of this treaty
 “ had been fulfilled, and your majesty’s instructi-
 “ ons to your ambassador had been pursued : but
 “ this necessary restriction hath been omitted, and
 “ the same liberty is granted to the States, to take
 “ possession of all the *Netherlands*, whenever they
 “ shall think themselves attacked by any other neigh-
 “ bouring nation, as when they shall be in danger
 “ from *France* ; so that, if it should at any time hap-
 “ pen (which your commons are very unwilling to
 “ suppose) that they should quarrel, even with your
 “ majesty, the riches, strength, and advantageous
 “ situation of these countries, may be made use of
 “ against yourself, without whose generous and
 “ powerful assistance they had never been con-
 “ quered.

“ To return to those ill consequences which
 “ relate to the trade of your kingdoms, we beg
 “ leave to observe to your majesty, that, though this
 “ treaty revives, and renders your majesty a party
 “ to, the fourteenth and fifteenth articles of the
 “ treaty of *Munster*, by virtue of which, the im-
 “ positions upon all goods and merchandizes
 “ brought into the *Spanish* Low Countries by the
 “ sea, are to equal those laid on goods and mer-
 “ chandizes imported by the *Scheld*, and the ca-
 “ nals of *Safs* and *Swynn*, and other mouths of
 “ the

“ the sea adjoining ; yet no care is taken to pre-
 “ serve that equality upon the exportation of those
 “ goods out of the *Spanish* provinces, into those
 “ countries and places, which, by virtue of this
 “ treaty, are to be in the possession of the States ;
 “ the consequence of which must in time be, and
 “ your commons are informed that in some instan-
 “ ces it has already proved to be the case, that the
 “ impositions upon goods carried into those coun-
 “ tries and places, by the subjects of the States Ge-
 “ neral, will be taken off, while those upon the
 “ goods imported by your majesty’s subjects remain :
 “ by which means, *Great Britain* will entirely
 “ lose this most beneficial branch of trade, which it
 “ has in all ages been possessed of, even from the
 “ time when those countries were governed by the
 “ house of *Burgundy*, one of the most antient, as
 “ well as the most useful allies to the crown of
 “ *England*.

“ With regard to the other dominions and ter-
 “ ritories of *Spain*, your majesty’s subjects have
 “ always been distinguished in their commerce with
 “ them, and, both by antient treaties and an un-
 “ interrupted custom, have enjoyed greater pri-
 “ vileges and immunities of trade, than either the
 “ *Hollanders*, or any other nation whatsoever.
 “ And that wise and excellent treaty of the Grand Al-
 “ liance provides effectually for the security and con-
 “ tinuance of these valuable privileges to *Britain*, in
 “ such a manner, as that each nation might be left, at

“ the end of the war, upon the same foot as it
 “ stood at the commencement of it : but this treaty
 “ we now complain of, instead of confirming your
 “ subjects rights, surrenders and destroys them ;
 “ for, although by the sixteenth and seventeenth
 “ articles of the treaty of *Munster*, made between
 “ his Catholic majesty and the States General,
 “ all advantages of trade are stipulated for, and
 “ granted to the *Hollanders*, equal to what the
 “ *English* enjoyed ; yet, the crown of *England* not
 “ being a party to that treaty, the subjects of *Eng-*
 “ *land* have never submitted to those articles of it,
 “ nor even the *Spaniards* themselves ever observed
 “ them ; but this treaty revives those articles in
 “ prejudice of *Great Britain*, and makes your
 “ majesty a party to them, and even a guarantee
 “ to the States General, for privileges against your
 “ own people.

“ In how deliberate and extraordinary a manner
 “ your majesty’s ambassador consented to deprive
 “ your subjects of their ancient rights, and your
 “ majesty of the power of procuring to them any
 “ new advantage, most evidently appears from his
 “ own letters, which, by your majesty’s directions,
 “ have been laid before your commons : for when
 “ matters of advantage to your majesty, and to
 “ your kingdom, had been offered, as proper to
 “ be made parts of this treaty, they were refused
 “ to be admitted by the States General, upon this
 “ reason and principle, that nothing foreign to the
 “ guaranties of the succession, and of the barrier,
 “ should

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“ should be mingled with them; notwithstanding
“ which, the States General had no sooner recei-
“ ved notice of a treaty of commerce concluded be-
“ tween your majesty and the present emperor, but
“ they departed from the rule proposed before, and
“ insisted upon the article, of which your commons
“ now complain; which article your majesty’s
“ ambassador allowed of, although equally foreign
“ to the succession, or the barrier; and although
“ he had for that reason departed from other arti-
“ cles, which would have been for the service of
“ his own country.

“ We have forborne to trouble your majesty
“ with general observations upon this treaty, as
“ it relates to and affects the empire, and other
“ parts of *Europe*. The mischiefs which arise
“ from it to *Great Britain*, are what only we have
“ presumed humbly to represent to you, as they
“ are very evident, and very great: and as it ap-
“ pears, that the lord viscount *Townsend* had not
“ any orders, or authority, for concluding several
“ of those articles, which are most prejudicial to
“ your majesty’s subjects; we have thought we
“ could do no less than declare your said ambassa-
“ dor, who negociated and signed, and all others
“ who advised the ratifying of this treaty, enemies
“ to your majesty and your kingdom.

“ Upon these faithful informations, and advices
“ from your commons, we assure ourselves, your
“ majesty, in your great goodness to your people,
“ will rescue them from those evils, which the pri-

“vate councils of ill-designing men have exposed
 “them to ; and that, in your great wisdom, you
 “will find some means for the explaining and
 “amending the several articles of this treaty, so
 “as that they may consist with the interest of *Great*
 “*Britain*, and with real and lasting friendship be-
 “tween your majesty and the States General.”

Between the representation and the first debates upon the subject of it, several weeks had passed during which time the parliament had other matters likewise before them, that deserve to be mentioned. For on the 9th of *February* was repealed the act for naturalizing foreign protestants, which had been passed under the last ministry, and, as many people thought, to very ill purposes. By this act, any foreigner, who would take the oaths to the government, and profess himself a protestant, of whatever denomination, was immediately naturalized, and had all the privileges of an *English*-born subject, at the expence of a shilling. Most protestants abroad differ from us in the points of church-government ; so that all the acquisitions by this act would increase the number of dissenters ; and therefore the proposal, that such foreigners should be obliged to conform to the established worship, was rejected. But, because several persons were fond of this project, as a thing that would be of mighty advantage to the kingdom, I shall say a few words upon it.

The maxim, “That people are the riches of a
 “nation,” hath been crudely understood by many
 writers

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writers and reasoners upon that subject. There are several ways by which people are brought into a country. Sometimes a nation is invaded and subdued; and the conquerors seize the lands, and make the natives their under-tenants or servants. Colonies have been always planted where the natives were driven out or destroyed, or the land uncultivated and waste. In those countries where the lord of the soil is master of the labour and liberty of his tenants, or of slaves bought by his money, men's riches are reckoned by the number of their vassals. And sometimes, in governments newly instituted, where there are not people to till the ground, many laws have been made to encourage and allure numbers from the neighbouring countries. And, in all these cases, the new comers have either lands allotted them, or are slaves to the proprietors. But to invite helpless families, by thousands, into a kingdom inhabited like ours, without lands to give them, and where the laws will not allow that they should be part of the property as servants, is a wrong application of the maxim, and the same thing, in great, as infants dropped at the doors, which are only a burthen and charge to the parish. The true way of multiplying mankind to public advantage, in such a country as *England*, is to invite from abroad only able handicraftsmen and artificers, or such who bring over a sufficient share of property to secure them from want; to enact and enforce sumptuary laws against luxury, and all excesses in cloathing,

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furniture,

furniture, and the like ; to encourage matrimony, and reward, as the *Romans* did, those who have a certain number of children. Whether bringing over the *Palatines* were a mere consequence of this law for a general naturalization ; or whether, as many surmised, it had some other meaning, it appeared manifestly, by the issue, that the publick was a loser by every individual among them ; and that a kingdom can no more be the richer by such an importation, than a man can be fatter by a wen, which is unsightly and troublesome, at best, and intercepts that nourishment, which would otherwise diffuse itself through the whole body.

About a fortnight after, the commons sent up a bill for securing the freedom of parliaments, by limiting the number of members in that house who should be allowed to possess employments under the crown. Bills to the same effect, promoted by both parties, had, after making the like progress, been rejected in former parliaments ; the court and ministry, who will ever be against such a law, having usually a greater influence in the house of lords, and so it happened now. Although that influence were less, I am apt to think that such a law would be too thorough a reformation in one point, while we have so many corruptions in the rest ; and perhaps the regulations, already made on that article, are sufficient, by which several employments incapacitate a man from being chosen a member, and all of them bring it to a new election.

For

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For my own part, when I consider the temper of particular persons, and by what maxims they have acted (almost without exception) in their private capacities, I cannot conceive how such a bill should obtain a majority, unless every man expected to be one of the fifty, which, I think, was the limitation intended.

About the same time, likewise, the house of commons advanced one considerable step towards securing us against farther impositions from our allies, resolving that the additional forces should be continued; but with a condition, that the *Dutch* should make good their proportion of three fifths to two fifths, which those confederates had so long, and in so great degree, neglected. The duke of *Marlborough's* deduction of two and a half *per cent.* from the pay of the foreign troops, was also applied for carrying on the war.

Lastly, within this period is to be included the act passed to prevent the disturbing those of the episcopal communion in *Scotland* in the exercise of their religious worship, and in the use of the Liturgy of the church of *England*. It is known enough, that the most considerable of the nobility and gentry there, as well as great numbers of the people, dread the tyrannical discipline of those synods and presbyteries; and at the same time have the utmost contempt for the abilities and tenets of their teachers. It was besides thought an inequality, beyond all appearance of reason or justice, that dissenters of every demonation here, who are

the meanest and most illiterate part amongst us, should possess a toleration by law, under colour of which they might, upon occasion, be bold enough to insult the religion established, while those of the episcopal church in *Scotland* groaned under a real persecution. The only specious objection against this bill was, that it set the religion by law, in both parts of the island, upon a different foot, directly contrary to the Union; because, by an act passed this very session against occasional conformity, our dissenters were shut out from all employments. A petition from *Carstairs*, and other *Scotch* professors, against this bill, was offered to the house, but not accepted; and a motion made by the other party, to receive a clause that should restrain all persons, who have any office in *Scotland*, from going to episcopal meetings, passed in the negative. It is manifest, that the promoters of this clause were not moved by any regard for *Scotland*, which is by no means their favourite at present; only they hoped, that, if it were made part of a law, it might occasion such a choice of representatives in both houses, from *Scotland*, as would be a considerable strength to their faction here. But the proposition was in itself extremely absurd, that so many lords, and other persons of distinction, who have great employments, pensions, posts in the army, and other places of profit, many of whom are in frequent or constant attendance at the court, and utterly dislike their national way of worship, should be deprived of their liberty of conscience at home

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home ; not to mention those who are sent thither from hence to take care of the revenue, and other affairs, who would ill digest the changing of their religion for that of *Scotland*.

With a farther view of favour towards the episcopal clergy of *Scotland*, three members of that country were directed to bring in a bill for restoring the patrons to their antient rights of presenting ministers to the vacant churches there, which the kirk, during the height of their power, had obtained for themselves. And, to conclude this subject at once, the queen, at the close of the session, commanded Mr. secretary *St. John* to acquaint the house, “ That, pursuant to their address, the profits arising from the bishops estates in *Scotland*, “ which remained in the crown, should be applied “ to the support of such of the episcopal clergy “ there, as would take the oaths to her majesty.”

Nothing could more amply justify the proceedings of the queen and her ministers, for two years past, than that famous representation above at large recited ; the unbiassed wisdom of the nation, after the strictest inquiry, confirming those facts upon which her majesty’s counsels were grounded : and many persons, who were before inclined to believe that the allies and the late ministry had been too much loaded by the malice, misrepresentations, or ignorance of writers, were now fully convinced of their mistake by so great an authority. Upon this occasion I cannot forbear doing justice to Mr. *St. John*, who had been secretary of war, for several

several years, under the former administration, where he had the advantage of observing how affairs were managed both at home and abroad. He was one of those who shared in the present treasurer's fortune, resigning up his employment at the same time; and upon that minister's being again taken into favour, this gentleman was some time after made secretary of state. There he began afresh, by the opportunities of his station, to look into past miscarriages; and, by the force of an extraordinary genius, and application to public affairs, joined with an invincible eloquence, laid open the scene of miscarriages and corruptions, through the whole course of the war, in so evident a manner, that the house of commons seemed principally directed in their resolutions, upon this inquiry, by his information and advice. In a short time after the representation was published, there appeared a memorial in the *Dutch Gazette*, as by order of the States, reflecting very much upon the said representation, as well as the resolutions on which it was founded, pretending to deny some of the facts, and to extenuate others. This memorial, translated into *English*, a common writer of news had the boldness to insert in one of his papers. A complaint being made thereof to the house of commons, they voted the pretended memorial to be a false, scandalous, malicious libel, and ordered the printer to be taken into custody.

It was the misfortune of the ministers, that, while they were baited by their professed adversaries
of

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of the discontented faction, acting in confederacy with emissaries of foreign powers, to break the measures her majesty had taken towards a peace, they met at the same time with frequent difficulties from those who agreed and engaged with them to pursue the same general end; but sometimes disapproved the methods as too slack and remiss, or in appearance now and then, perhaps, a little dubious. In the first session of this parliament, a considerable number of gentlemen, all members of the house of commons, began to meet by themselves, and consult what course they ought to steer in this new world. They intended to revive a new country-party in parliament, which might, as in former times, oppose the court in any proceedings they disliked. The whole body was of such who profess what is commonly called High-church principles, upon which account they were irreconcilable enemies to the late ministry and all its adherents. On the other side, considering the temper of the new men in power, that they were persons who had formerly moved between the two extremes, those gentlemen, who were impatient for an intire change, and to see all their adversaries laid at once as low as the dust, began to be apprehensive that the work would be done by halves. But the juncture of affairs at that time, both at home and abroad, would by no means admit of the least precipitation, although the queen and her first minister had been disposed to it, which certainly they were not. Neither did the court seem

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at all uneasy at this league, formed in appearance against it, but composed of honest gentlemen, who wished well to their country, in which both were entirely agreed, although they might differ about the means; or, if such a society should begin to grow resty, nothing was easier than to divide them, and render all their endeavours ineffectual.

But, in the course of that first session, many of this society became gradually reconciled to the new ministry, whom they found to be greater objects of the common enemy's hatred than themselves; and the attempt of *Guiscard*, as it gained farther time for the deferring the disposal of employments, so it much endeared that person to the kingdom, who was so near falling a sacrifice to the safety of his country. Upon the last session of which I am now writing, this *October* club (as it was called) renewed their usual meetings, but were now very much altered from their original institution, and seemed to have wholly dropped the design, as of no further use. They saw a point carried in the house of lords against the court, that would end in the ruin of the kingdom; and they observed the enemy's whole artillery directly levelled at the treasurer's head. In short, the majority of the club had so good an understanding with the great men at court, that two of the latter, to shew to the world how fair a correspondence there was between the court and country-party, consented to be at one of their dinners; but this intercourse had an event very different from what was expected: for

immediately the more zealous members of that society broke off from the rest, and composed a new one, made up of gentlemen, who seemed to expect little of the court; and perhaps, with a mixture of others who thought themselves disappointed, or too long delayed. Many of these were observed to retain an incurable jealousy of the treasurer, and to interpret all delays, which they could not comprehend, as a reserve of favour in this minister to the persons and principles of the abandoned party.

Upon an occasion offered about this time, some persons, out of distrust to the treasurer, endeavoured to obtain a point, which could not have been carried without putting all into confusion. A bill was brought into the house of commons, appointing commissioners to examine into the value of all lands, and other interests, granted by the crown since the 13th day of *February*, 1688, and upon what considerations such grants had been made. The united country-interest in the house was extremely set upon passing this bill. They had conceived an opinion, from former precedents, that the court would certainly oppose all steps towards a resumption of grants; and those who were apprehensive that the treasurer inclined the same way, proposed the bill should be tacked to another, for raising a fund by duties upon soap and paper, which hath been always imputed, whether justly or no, as a favourite expedient of those called the tory party. At the same time it was very well known, that the
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house of lords had made a fixed and unanimous resolution against giving their concurrence to the passing such united bills : so that the consequences of this project must have been to bring the ministry under difficulties, to stop the necessary supplies, and endanger the good correspondence between both houses ; notwithstanding all which, the majority carried it for a tack ; and the committee was instructed accordingly to make the two bills into one, whereby the worst that could happen would have followed, if the treasurer had not convinced the warm leaders in this affair, by undeniable reasons, that the means they were using would certainly disappoint the end ; that neither himself, nor any other of the queen's servants, were at all against this enquiry ; and he promised his utmost credit to help forward the bill in the house of lords. He prevailed at last to have it sent up single ; but their lordships gave it another kind of reception. Those who were of the side opposite to the court, withstood it to a man, as in a party-case : among the rest, some very personally concerned, and others by friends and relations, which they supposed a sufficient excuse to be absent, or dissent. Even those, whose grants were antecedent to this intended inspection, began to be alarmed, as men whose neighbours houses are on fire. A shew of zeal for the late king's honour occasioned many reflexions upon the date of this enquiry, which was to commence with his reign : and the earl of *Nottingham*, who had now flung away the mask which he had lately

lately pulled off, like one who had no other view but that of vengeance against the queen and her friends, acted consistently enough with his design, by voting as a lord against the bill, after he had directed his son in the house of commons to vote for the tack.

Thus miscarried this popular bill for appointing commissioners to examine into royal grants ; but whether those chiefly concerned did rightly consult their own interest, hath been made a question, which perhaps time will resolve. It was agreed that the queen, by her own authority, might have issued out a commission for such an enquiry, and every body believed, that the intention of the parliament was only to tax the grants with about three years purchase, and at the same time establish the proprietors in possession of the remainder for ever ; so that, upon the whole, the grantees would have been great gainers by such an act, since the titles of those lands, as they stood then, were hardly of half value with others either for sale or settlement. Besides, the examples of the *Irish* forfeitures might have taught these precarious owners, that, when the house of commons hath once engaged in a pursuit, which they think is right, although it be stopped or suspended for a while, they will be sure to renew it upon every opportunity that offers, and seldom fail of success : for instance, if the resumption should happen to be made part of a supply, which can be easily done without the objection of a tack, the grantees might possibly then have

much harder conditions given them ; and I do not see how they could prevent it. Whether the resuming of royal grants be consistent with good policy or justice, would be too long a disquisition : besides, the profusion of kings is not like to be a grievance for the future, because there have been laws since made to provide against that evil, or, indeed, rather because the crown has nothing left to give away. But the objection made against the date of the intended enquiry was invidious and trifling ; for king *James II.* made very few grants : he was a better manager, and squandering was none of his faults ; whereas the late king, who came over here a perfect stranger to our laws, and to our people, regardless of posterity, wherein he was not likely to survive, thought he could no way better strengthen a new title, than by purchasing friends at the expence of every thing which was in his power to part with.

The reasonableness of uniting to a money-bill one of a different nature, which is usually called *tacking*, hath been likewise much debated, and will admit of argument enough. In antient times, when a parliament was held, the commons first proposed their grievances to be redressed, and then gave their aids ; so that it was a perfect bargain between the king and the subject. This fully answered the ends of tacking. Aids were then demanded upon occasions which would hardly pass at present ; such, for instance, as those for making the king's son a knight, marrying his eldest daughter,

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ter; and some others of the like sort. Most of the money went into the king's coffers for his private use ; neither was he accountable for any part of it. Hence arose the form of the king's thanking his subjects for their benevolence, when any subsidies, tenths, or fifteenths, were given him : but the supplies now granted are of another nature, and cannot be properly called a particular benefit to the crown, because they are all appropriated to their several uses : so that when the house of commons tack to a money-bill what is foreign and hard to be digested, if it be not passed, they put themselves and their country in as great difficulties as the prince. On the other side, there have been several regulations made, through the course of time, in parliamentary proceedings ; among which it is grown a rule, that a bill once rejected shall not be brought up again the same session ; whereby the commons seem to have lost the advantage of purchasing a redress of their grievances, by granting supplies, which, upon some emergencies, hath put them upon this expedient of tacking : so that there is more to be said on each side of the case, than is convenient for me to trouble the reader or myself in deducing.

Among the matters of importance during this session, we may justly number the proceedings of the house of commons with relation to the press, since her majesty's message to the house, of *January* the seventeenth, concludes with a paragraph, representing

senting the great licences taken in publishing false and scandalous libels, such as are a reproach to any government; and recommending to them to find a remedy equal to the mischief. The meaning of these words in the message seems to be confined to those weekly and daily papers and pamphlets, reflecting upon the persons and the management of the ministry. But the house of commons, in their address, which answers this message, makes an addition of the blasphemies against God and religion; and it is certain, that nothing would be more for the honour of the legislature, than some effectual law for putting a stop to this universal mischief: but as the person [*m*], who advised the queen in that part of her message, had only then in his thoughts the redressing of the political and factious libels, I think he ought to have taken care, by his great credit in the house, to have proposed some ways by which that evil might be removed; the law for taxing single papers having produced a quite contrary effect, as was then foreseen by many persons, and hath since been found true by experience. For the adverse party, full of rage and leisure since their fall, and unanimous in defence of their cause, employ a sett of writers by subscription, who are well versed in all the topicks of defamation, and have a style and genius levelled to the generality of readers; while those who would draw their pens on the side of their prince and coun-

[*m*] Mr. secretary *St. John*, afterwards lord viscount *Bolingbroke*.

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try are discouraged by this tax, which exceeds the intrinsic value both of the materials and the work ; a thing, if I be not mistaken, without example.

It must be acknowledged, that the bad practices of printers have been such, as to deserve the severest animadversions of the publick ; and it is to be wished, the party-quarrels of the pen were always managed with decency and truth : but in the mean time, to open the mouths of our enemies and shut our own, is a turn of politicks that wants a little to be explained. Perhaps the ministry now in possession, because they are in possession, may despise such trifles as this ; and it is not to be denied, that, acting as they do upon a national interest, they may seem to stand in less need of such supports, or may safely fling them down as no longer necessary. But if the leaders of the other party had proceeded by this maxim, their power would have been none at all, or of very short duration : and had not some active pens fallen in to improve the good dispositions of the people upon the late change, and continued since to overthrow the falsehood, plentifully, and sometimes not unplaussibly, scattered by the adversaries, I am very much in doubt, whether those at the helm would now have reason to be pleased with their success. A particular person may, with more safety, despise the opinion of the vulgar, because it does a wise man no real harm or good, but the administration a great deal ; and whatever side has the sole management of the pen, will soon find hands enough to write down their enemies as low as they

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please. If the people had no other idea of those whom her majesty trusts in her greatest affairs, than what is conveyed by the passions of such as would compass sea and land for their destruction, what could they expect, but to be torn in pieces by the rage of the multitude? How necessary therefore was it, that the world should, from time to time, be undeceived by true representations of persons and facts, which have kept the kingdom steady to its interest, against all the attacks of a cunning and virulent faction !

However, the mischiefs of the press were too exorbitant to be cured, by such a remedy as a tax upon the smaller papers ; and a bill for a much more effectual regulation of it was brought into the house of commons, but so late in the session, that there was no time to pass it : for there hath hitherto always appeared an unwillingness to cramp overmuch the liberty of the press, whether from the inconveniencies apprehended from doing too much, or too little ; or whether the benefit proposed by each party to themselves, from the service of their writers towards recovering or preserving of power, be thought to outweigh the disadvantages. However it came about, this affair was put off from one week to another, and the bill not brought into the house till the eighth of *June*. It was committed three days, and then heard of no more. In this bill there was a clause inserted (whether industriously with design to overthrow it) that the author's name, and place of abode, should be set to every

every printed book, pamphlet, or paper; which I believe no man, who hath the least regard to learning, would give his consent to: for, besides the objection to this clause from the practice of pious men, who, in publishing excellent writings for the service of religion, have chosen, out of an humble Christian spirit, to conceal their names; it is certain, that all persons of true genius or knowledge have an invincible modesty and suspicion of themselves, upon their first sending their thoughts into the world; and that those who are dull or superficial, void of all taste and judgment, have dispositions directly contrary: so that, if this clause had made part of a law, there would have been an end, in all likelihood, of any valuable production for the future, either in wit or learning: and that insufferable race of stupid people, who are now every day loading the press, would then reign alone, in time destroy our very first principles of reason, and introduce barbarity amongst us, which is already kept out with so much difficulty by so few hands.

Having given an account of the several steps made towards a peace, from the first overtures begun by *France*, to the commencement of the second session, I shall in the fourth book relate the particulars of this great negociation, from the period last-mentioned to the present time; and because there happened some passages in both houses, occasioned by the treaty, I shall take notice of them under

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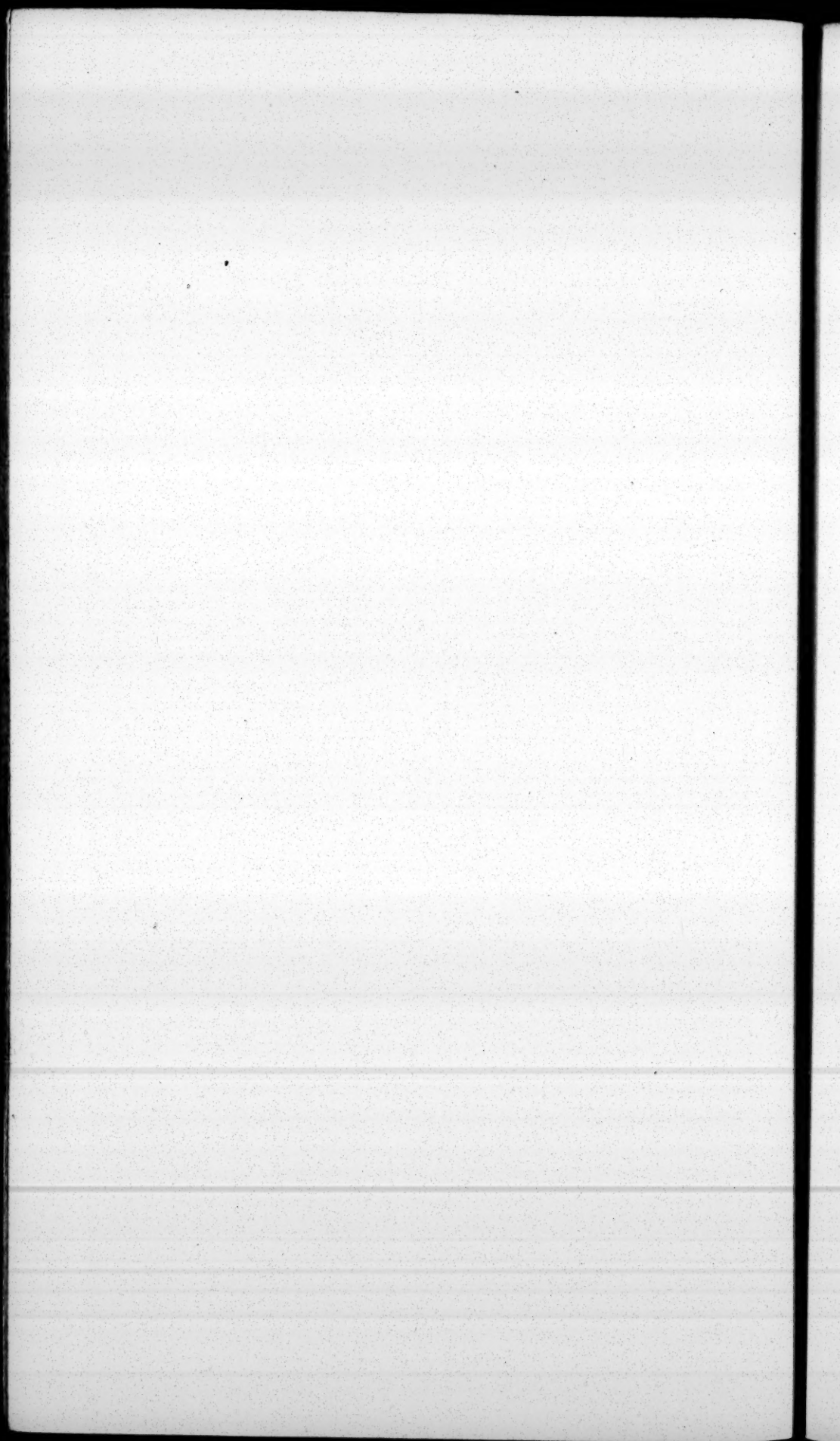
that head. There only remains to be mentioned one affair of another nature, which the lords and commons took into their cognizance, after a very different manner, wherewith I shall close this part of my subject.

The sect of Quakers amongst us, whose system of religion, first founded upon enthusiasm, hath been many years growing into a craft, held it an unlawful action to take an oath to a magistrate. This doctrine was taught them by the author of their sect, from a literal application of the text, *Swear not at all*; but, being a body of people wholly turned to trade and commerce of all kinds, they found themselves on many occasions deprived of the benefit of the law, as well as of voting at elections, by a foolish scruple, which their obstinacy would not suffer them to get over. To prevent this inconvenience, these people had credit enough in the late reign to have an act passed, that their solemn affirmation and declaration should be accepted, instead of an oath in the usual form. The great concern in those times, was to lay all religion upon a level; in order to which, this maxim was advanced, that no man ought to be denied the liberty of serving his country upon account of a different belief in speculative opinions, under which term some people were apt to include every doctrine of Christianity: however, this act, in favour of the Quakers, was only temporary, in order to keep them in constant dependance, and expired of course after a certain term, if it were not continued.

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Those people had, therefore, very early in the session, offered a petition to the house of commons for a continuance of the act, which was not suffered to be brought up ; upon this they applied themselves to the lords, who passed a bill accordingly, and sent it down to the commons, where it was not so much as allowed a first reading.

And indeed it is not easy to conceive upon what motives the legislature of so great a kingdom could descend so low, as to be ministerial and subservient to the caprices of the most absurd heresy that ever appeared in the world ; and this in a point, where those deluding or deluded people stand singular from all the rest of mankind who live under civil government : but the designs of an aspiring party, at that time, were not otherwise to be compassed, than by undertaking any thing that would humble and mortify the Church ; and I am fully convinced, that if a sect of sceptic philosophers (who profess to doubt of every thing) had been then among us, and mingled their tenets with some corruptions of Christianity, they might have obtained the same privilege ; and that a law would have been enacted, whereby the solemn doubt of the people called Scepticks should have been accepted, instead of an oath in the usual form ; so absurd are all maxims formed upon the inconsistent principles of faction, when once they are brought to be examined by the standard of truth and reason !



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Q U E E N.
B O O K IV.

WE left the plenipotentiaries of the allies, and those of the enemy, preparing to assemble at *Utrecht* on the first of *January*, N. S. in order to form a congress for negotiating a general peace ; wherein although the *Dutch* had made a mighty merit of their compliance with the queen, yet they set all their instruments at work to inflame both houses against her majesty's measures. *Monf. Bothmar*, the *Hanover* envoy, took care to print and disperse his memorial, of which I have formerly spoken : *Hoffman*, the emperor's resident, was soliciting for a yacht and convoys to bring over prince *Eugene* at this juncture, fortified, as it was given out, with great proposals from the imperial court : the earl of *Nottingham* became a convert, for reasons already mentioned : money was distributed

buted where occasion required ; and the dukes of *Somerset* and *Marlborough*, together with the earl of *Godolphin*, had put themselves at the head of the Junto and their adherents, in order to attack the court.

Some days after the vote passed the house of lords for admitting into the address the earl of *Nottingham's* clause, against any peace without *Spain*, *Monf. Buys*, the *Dutch* envoy, who had been deep in all the consultations with the discontented party for carrying that point, was desired to meet with the lord privy-seal, the earl of *Dartmouth*, and Mr. secretary *St. John*, in order to sign a treaty between the queen and the States, to subsist after a peace. There the envoy took occasion to expostulate upon the advantages stipulated for *Britain* with *France* ; said “ it was his opinion, that those ministers
 “ ought, in respect of the friendship between both
 “ nations, to acquaint him what these advantages
 “ were ; and that he looked upon his country to
 “ be intitled, by treaty, to share them equally with
 “ us : That there was now another reason why
 “ we should be more disposed to comply with him
 “ upon this head ; for, since the late resolution of
 “ the house of lords, he took it for granted, it
 “ would be a dangerous step in us to give *Spain* to
 “ a prince of the house of *Bourbon* ; and therefore,
 “ that we should do well to induce the States, by
 “ such a concession, to help us out of this diffi-
 “ culty.”

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Mr. *St. John* made answer, "That there was
 " not a man in the queen's council capable of so
 " base a thought : That, if *Buys* had any thing to
 " complain of, which was injurious to *Holland*, or
 " justly tending to hurt the good correspondence
 " between us and the States, he was confident her
 " majesty would at all times be ready to give it
 " up ; but that the ministers scorned to screen
 " themselves at the expence of their country :
 " That the resolution *Buys* mentioned, was
 " chiefly owing to foreign ministers intermed-
 " dling in our affairs, and would perhaps have
 " an effect the projectors did not foresee :
 " That, if the peace became impracticable,
 " the house of commons would certainly put the
 " war upon another foot, and reduce the public
 " expence within such a compass as our treaties
 " required in the strictest sense, and as our present
 " condition would admit, leaving the partisans for
 " war to supply the rest."

Although the secretary believed this answer
 would put an end to such infamous proposals, it
 fell out otherwise ; for, shortly after, *Monf.*
Buys applied himself to the treasurer, promising to
 undertake, " That his masters should give up the
 " article of *Spain*, provided they might share with
 " us in the *Affiento* for Negroes." To which the
 treasurer's answer was short, " That he would
 " rather lose his head than consent to such an
 " offer."

It

It is manifest, by this proceeding, that, whatever schemes were forming here at home, in this juncture, by the enemies to the peace, the *Dutch* only designed to fall in with it as far as it would answer their own account; and, by a strain of the lower politicks, wherein they must be allowed to excell every country in Christendom, lay upon the watch for a good bargain, by taking advantage of the distress they themselves had brought upon their nearest neighbour and ally.

But the queen highly resented this indignity from a republick, upon whom she had conferred so many obligations. She could not endure that the *Dutch* should employ their instruments to act in confederacy with a cabal of factious people, who were prepared to sacrifice the safety of their prince and country to the recovery of that power they had so long possessed and abused. Her majesty knew very well, that, whatever were the mistaken or affected opinion of some people at home, upon the article of *Spain*, it was a point the States had long given up, who had very openly told our ministry, "That the war in that country was only our concern, and what their republick had nothing to do with." It is true, the party-leaders were equally convinced, that the recovery of *Spain* was impracticable; but many things may be excused in a professed adversary, fallen under a disgrace, which are highly criminal in an ally, upon whom we are that very instant conferring new favours. Her majesty therefore thought it high time to exert herself,

6

and

and at length put a stop to foreign influence upon *British* counsels ; so that, after the earl of *Notingham's* clause against any peace without *Spain* was carried in the house of lords, directions were immediately sent to the earl of *Strafford* at the *Hague*, to inform the *Dutch*, " That it was obtained by a trick, and would consequently turn to the disappointment and confusion of the contrivers and the actors." He was likewise instructed to be very dry and reserved to the pensionary and *Dutch* ministers ; to let them know, " the queen thought herself ill treated ; and that they would soon hear what effects those measures would have upon a mild and good temper, wrought up to resentment by repeated provocations : That the States might have the war continued, if they pleased ; but that the queen would not be forced to carry it on after their manner, nor would suffer them to make her peace, or to settle the interests of her kingdoms."

To others in *Holland*, who appeared to be more moderate, the earl was directed to say, " That the States were upon a wrong scent : That their minister here mistook every thing that we had promised : That we would perform all they could reasonably ask from us, in relation to their barrier and their trade ; and that *Mons. Buys* dealt very unfairly, if he had not told them as much. But that *Britain* proceeded, in some respects, upon a new scheme of politicks ; would no longer struggle for impossibilities, nor be amused by

" words :

“ words : That our people came more and more
 “ to their senses ; and that the single dispute now
 “ was, whether the *Dutch* would join with a facti-
 “ on against the queen, or with the nation for
 “ her? ”

The court likewise resolved to discourage prince *Eugene* from his journey to *England*, which he was about this time undertaking, and of which I have spoken before. He was told, “ That the queen
 “ wanted no exhortations to carry on the war ;
 “ but the project of it should be agreed abroad,
 “ upon which her majesty’s resolutions might soon
 “ be signified : but, until she saw what the empe-
 “ ror and allies were ready to do, she would nei-
 “ ther promise nor engage for any thing.” At the same time, Mr. *St. John* told *Hoffman*, the emperor’s resident here, “ That, if the prince had
 “ a mind to divert himself in *London*, the ministers
 “ would do their part to entertain him, and be sure
 “ to trouble him with no manner of business.”

This coldness retarded the prince’s journey for some days ; but did not prevent it, although he had a second message by the queen’s order, with this farther addition, “ That his name had lately
 “ been made use of, on many occasions, to create
 “ ferment, and stir up sedition ; and that her ma-
 “ jesty judged it would be neither safe for him, nor
 “ convenient for her, that he should come over
 “ at this time.” But all would not do : it was enough that the queen did not absolutely forbid him, and the party-confederates, both foreign and do-
 mestic,

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 207

meftic, thought his prefence would be highly neceffary for their fervice.

Towards the end of *December*, the lord privy-feal [n] fet out for *Holland*. He was ordered to flop at the *Hague*, and, in conjunction with the earl of *Strafford*, to declare to the States, in her majesty's name, "her refolutions to conclude no
 " peace, wherein the allies in general, and each
 " confederate in particular, might not find their
 " ample fecurity and their reasonable fatisfaction :
 " That ſhe was ready to inſiſt upon their barrier,
 " and advantages in their trade, in the manner the
 " States themſelves ſhould deſire ; and to concert
 " with them ſuch a plan of treaty, as both powers
 " might be under mutual engagements never to re-
 " cede from : That nothing could be of greater
 " importance, than for the miniſters of *Great Britain*
 " and *Holland* to enter the congress under the
 " ſtrictest ties of confidence, and intirely to con-
 " cur throughout the courſe of theſe negotiations.
 " To which purpoſe, it was her majesty's plea-
 " ſure, that their lordſhips ſhould adjust with the
 " *Dutch* miniſters, the beſt manner and method
 " for opening and carrying on the conferences, and
 " declare themſelves inſtructed to communicate
 " freely their thoughts and meaſures to the pleni-
 " potentiaries of the States, who, they hoped,
 " had received the ſame inſtructions."

[n] Dr. *Robinson*, biſhop of *Briſtol*.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, the two lords were to ſignify to the penſionary, and the other miniſters, “ That her ma-
 “ jeſty’s preparations for the next campaign were
 “ carried on with all the diſpatch and vigour the
 “ preſent circumſtances would allow ; and to in-
 “ ſiſt, that the ſame might be done by the States ;
 “ and that both powers ſhould join in preſſing the
 “ emperor, and other allies, to make greater efforts
 “ than they had hitherto done ; without which
 “ the war muſt languish, and the terms of peace
 “ become every day more diſadvantageous.”

The two *British* plenipotentiaries went to *Utrecht* with very large inſtructions, and, after the uſual manner, were to make much higher demands from *France* (at leaſt in behalf of the allies) than they could have any hope to obtain. The ſum of what they had in charge, beſides matter of form, was, to concert with the miniſters of the ſeveral powers engaged againſt *France*, “ That all differences ariſing
 “ among them ſhould be accommodated between
 “ themſelves, without ſuffering the *French* to in-
 “ terfere : That whatever were propoſed to *France*
 “ by a miniſter of the alliance, ſhould be backed
 “ by the whole confederacy : That a time might
 “ be fixed for the concluſion, as there had been
 “ for the commencement, of the treaty.” *Spain* was to be demanded out of the hands of the *Bourbon* family, as the moſt effectual means for preventing the union of that kingdom with *France* ; and whatever conditions the allies could agree upon for
 hindering

hindering that union, their lordships were peremptorily to insist on.

As the interests of each ally in particular, the plenipotentiaries of *Britain* were to demand “*Straßburgh*, the fort of *Kehl*, with its independencies, “and the town of *Brisac*, with its territory, for “the emperor: That *France* should possess *Alsatia*, “according to the treaty of *Westphalia*, with the “right of the prefecture only over the ten imperial cities in that country: That the fortifications of the said ten cities be put into the condition they were in at the time of the said treaty, “except *Landau*, which was to be demanded for “the emperor and empire, with liberty of demolishing the fortifications: That the *French* king “should, at a certain time, and at his own expence, demolish the fortresses of *Hunningen*, *New Brisac*, and *Fort Lewis*, never to be rebuilt.

“That the town and fortress of *Rhinfelt* should “be demanded for the landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, “until that matter be otherwise settled.

“That the clause relating to religion, in the “fourth article of the treaty of *Ryswick*, and contrary to that of *Westphalia*, should be annulled, “and the state of religion in *Germany* restored to “the tenour of the treaty of *Westphalia*.

“That *France* should acknowledge the king of “*Prussia*, and give him no disturbance in *Neuchatel* and *Valengin*: That the principality of “*Orange*, and other estates belonging to the late

“ king *William*, should be restored, as law should
 “ direct.

“ That the duke of *Hanover* should be acknow-
 “ ledged elector.

“ That the king of *Portugal* should enjoy all
 “ the advantages stipulated between him and the
 “ allies.

“ That the States should have for their barrier
 “ *Furnes, Fort Knock, Menin, Ipres, Lisse, Tour-*
 “ *nay, Condé, Valenciennes, Maubeuge, Douay,*
 “ *Bethune Avie, St. Venant, and Bouchain,* with
 “ their cannon, &c. That the *French* king should
 “ restore all the places belonging to *Spain*, now
 “ or during this war in his possession, in the *Nether-*
 “ *lands*: That such part of them as should be
 “ thought fit, might be allowed likewise for a bar-
 “ rier to the States: That *France* should grant
 “ the tariff of 1664 to the States, and exemption
 “ of fifty pence *per tun* upon *Dutch* goods trading
 “ to that kingdom.

“ But that these articles in favour of the States
 “ should not be concluded, till the Barrier-treaty
 “ were explained to the queen's satisfaction.

“ That the duke of *Savoy* should be put in pos-
 “ session of all taken from him in this war, and
 “ enjoy the places yielded to him by the emperor,
 “ and other allies: That *France* should likewise
 “ yield to him *Exilles, Fenestrelles, Chaumont,* the
 “ valley of *Pregata*, and the land lying between
 “ *Piedmount* and Mount *Genu*.

“ That

“ That the article about demolishing of *Dunkirk* should be explained.”

“ As to *Britain*, the plenipotentiaries were to insert that *Nieuport*, *Dendermond*, *Ghent*, and all places which appear to be a barrier rather against *England* than *France*, should either not be given to the *Dutch*, or at least in such a manner, as not to hinder the queen’s subjects free passage to and from the *Low Countries*.

“ That the seventh article of the Barrier-treaty, which impowers the States, in case of an attack, to put troops at discretion in all the places of the *Low Countries*, should be so explained as to be understood only of an attack from *France*.

“ That *Britain* should trade to the *Low Countries* with the same privileges as the States themselves.

“ That the most Christian king should acknowledge the succession of *Hanover*, and immediately oblige the pretender to leave *France*; and that the said king should promise, for himself and his heirs, never to acknowledge any person for king or queen of *England*, otherwise than according to the settlements now in force.

“ That a treaty of commerce should be commenced, as soon as possible, between *France* and *Britain*; and, in the mean time, the necessary points relating to it be settled.

“ That the isle of *St. Christopher’s* should be surrendered to the queen, *Hudson’s Bay* restored, *Placentia* and the whole island of *Newfoundland* yielded to *Britain* by the most Christian king;

“ king *William*, should be restored, as law should
 “ direct.

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“ That the isle of *St. Christopher’s* should be surrendered to the queen, *Hudson’s Bay* restored, *Placentia* and the whole island of *Newfoundland* yielded to *Britain* by the most Christian king;

“ who was likewise to quit all claim to *Nova Scotia* and *Annapolis Royal*.

“ That *Gibraltar* and *Minorca* should be annexed to the *British* crown.

“ That the *Affiento* should be granted to *Britain* for thirty years, with the same advantage as to *France*; with an extent of ground on the river of *Plata*, for keeping and refreshing the Negroes.

“ That *Spain* should grant to the subjects of *Britain* as large privileges as to any other nation whatsoever; as likewise an exemption of duties, amounting to an advantage of at least fifteen per cent.

“ That satisfaction should be demanded for what should appear to be justly due to her majesty, from the emperor and the States.

“ Lastly, That the plenipotentiaries should consult, with those of the Protestant allies, the most effectual methods for restoring the Protestants of *France* to their religious and civil liberties, and for the immediate release of those who are now in the galleys.”

What part of these demands were to be insisted on, and what were to be given up, will appear by the sequel of this negociation. But there was no difficulty of moment enough to retard the peace, except a method for preventing the union of *France* and *Spain* under one prince, and the settling the barrier for *Holland*; which last, as claimed by the States,

States, could, in prudence and safety, be no more allowed by us than by *France*.

The States General having appointed *Mons. Buys* to be one of their plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, that minister left *England* a few days after the lord privy-seal. In his last conference with the lords of the council, he absolutely declared, “ That his
“ masters had done their utmost, both by sea and
“ land : That it was unreasonable to expect more :
“ That they had exceeded their proportion, even
“ beyond *Britain* ; and that as to the emperor, and
“ other allies, he knew no expedient left for making them act with more vigour, than to pursue
“ them with pathetical exhortations.”

This minister was sent over hither, instructed and empowered by halves. The ferment raised by the united endeavours of our party-leaders, among whom he was a constant fellow-labourer to the utmost of his skill, had wholly confounded him : and thinking to take the advantage of negotiating well for *Holland* at the expence of *Britain*, he acted but ill for his own country, and worse for the common cause. However, the queen’s ministers and he parted with the greatest civility ; and her majesty’s present was double the value of what is usual to the character he bore.

As the queen was determined to alter her measures in making war, so she thought nothing would so much convince the States of the necessity of a peace, as to have them frequently put in mind of this resolution, which her ambassador *Strafford*,

then at the *Hague*, was accordingly directly to do : and if they should object, of what ill consequence it would be for the enemy to know her majesty designed to lessen her expences, he might answer, “ That the ministers here were sorry for it ; “ but the *Dutch* could only blame themselves, for “ forcing into such a necessity a princess, to whose “ friendship they owed the preservation and “ grandeur of their republick, and chusing to lean “ on a broken faction, rather than place their confidence in the queen.”

It was her majesty’s earnest desire, that there should be a perfect agreement at this treaty between the ministers of all the allies, than which nothing could be more effectual to make *France* comply with their just demands : above all, she directed her plenipotentiaries to enter into the strictest confidence with those of *Holland* ; and that, after the States had consented to explain the Barrier-treaty to her reasonable satisfaction, both powers should form between them a plan of general peace, from which they would not recede, and such as might secure the quiet of *Europe*, as well as the particular interests of each confederate.

The *Dutch* were accordingly pressed, before the congress opened, to come to some temperament upon that famous treaty ; because the ministers here expected it would be soon laid before the house of commons, by which the resentment of the nation would probably appear against those who had been actors and advisers in it : but Mons. *Buys*,
who

who usually spoke for his colleagues, was full of opposition, began to expostulate upon the advantages *Britain* had stipulated with *France*, and to insist, that his masters ought to share equally in them all, but especially the Assiento contract: so that no progress was made in fixing a previous good correspondence between *Britain* and the States, which her majesty had so earnestly recommended.

Certain regulations having been agreed upon, for avoiding of ceremony and other inconveniencies, the conferences began at *Utrecht*, upon the 29th of *January*, N. S. 1711-12, at ten in the morning. The ministers of the allies going into the Town house at one door and those of *France* at the same instant at another, they all took their seats without distinction; and the bishop of *Bristol*, lord privy-seal, first plenipotentiary of *Britain*, opened the assembly with a short speech, directed to the ministers of *France*, in words to the following effect:

“ Messieurs,

“ We are here met to-day, in the name of God,
 “ to enter upon a treaty of general peace, between
 “ the high allies and the king your master. We
 “ bring sincere intentions, and express orders
 “ from our superiors to concur, on their part, with
 “ whatever may advance and perfect so salutary
 “ and Christian a work. On the other side, we
 “ hope you have the same disposition; and that
 “ your orders will be so full, as to be able, without
 “ loss of time, to answer the expectation of the

“ high allies, by explaining yourselves clearly and
 “ roundly upon the points we shall have to settle
 “ in these conferences ; and that you will perform
 “ this in so plain and specific a manner, as every
 “ prince and state in the confederacy may find a just
 “ and reasonable satisfaction.”

The *French* began, by promising to explain the overtures which *Monf. Mesnager* had delivered to the queen some months before, and to give in a specific project of what their master would yield, provided the allies would each give a specific answer, by making their several demands ; which method, after many difficulties, and affected delays in the *Dutch*, was at length agreed to.

But the States, who had, with the utmost discontent, seen her majesty at the head of this negotiation, where they intended to have placed themselves, began to discover their ill-humour upon every occasion ; they raised endless difficulties about settling the Barrier-treaty, as the queen desired ; and in one of the first general conferences, they would not suffer the *British* secretary to take the minutes, but nominated some *Dutch* professor for that office, which the queen refused, and resented their behaviour as an useless cavil, intended only to shew their want of respect. The *British* plenipotentiaries had great reason to suspect, that the *Dutch* were, at this time, privately endeavouring to ingage in some separate measures with *France*, by the intervention of one *Molo*, a busy factious agent at *Amsterdam*, who had been often employed
 in

in such intrigues : that this was the cause which made them so litigious and slow in all their steps, in hopes to break the congress, and find better terms for their trade and barrier, from the *French*, than we ever could think fit to allow them. The *Dutch* ministers did also apply themselves with industry, to cultivate the imperial plenipotentiary's favour, in order to secure all advantages of commerce with *Spain* and the *West-Indies*, in case those dominions could be procured for the emperor : for this reason, they avoided settling any general plan of peace, in concert with the plenipotentiaries of *Britain*, which her majesty desired ; and *Monf. Buys* plainly told their lordships, that it was a point, which neither he nor his colleagues could consent to, before the States were admitted equal sharers with *Britain* in the trade of *Spain*.

The court having notice of this untractable temper in the *Dutch*, gave direct orders to the plenipotentiaries of *Britain*, for pressing those of the States to adjust the gross inequalities of the Barrier-treaty, since nothing was more usual or agreeable to reason than for princes, who find themselves aggrieved by prejudicial contracts, to expect they should be modified and explained. And since it now appeared by votes in the house of commons, that the sense of the nation agreed with what her majesty desired, if the *Dutch* ministers would not be brought to any moderate terms upon this demand, their lordships were directed to improve and amend the particular concessions made to *Britain* by *France*,
and

and form them into a treaty ; for the queen was determined never to allow the States any share in the *Affiento*, *Gibraltar*, and *Port-Mahon* ; nor could think it reasonable, that they should be upon an equal foot with her in the trade of *Spain*, to the conquest whereof they had contributed so little.

Nor was the conduct of the imperial minister at this time less perplexing than that of the States, both those powers appearing fully bent, either upon breaking off the negotiation, or upon forcing from the queen those advantages she expected by it for her own kingdoms. Her majesty therefore thought fit, about the beginning of *March*, to send Mr. *Thomas Harley*, a near relation of the treasurer's, to *Utrecht*, fully informed of her mind, which he was directed to communicate to the plenipotentiaries of *Britain*.

Mr. *Harley* stopped in his way to *Utrecht* at the *Hague*, and there told the pensionary, “ That nothing had happened lately in *England* but what was long ago foretold him, as well as the other ministers of the allies : That the proceedings of the house of commons, particularly about the Barrier-treaty, must chiefly be ascribed to the manner in which the queen and the nation had been treated by Mons. *Bothmar*, count *Gallas*, *Buys*, and other foreign ministers : That, if the States would yet enter into a strict union with the queen, give her satisfaction in the said treaty, and join in concert with her plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, a safe and advantageous peace might

“ might be obtained for the whole alliance ; other-
 “ wise her majesty must save her own country, and
 “ join with such of her allies as would join with
 “ her.

“ As to the war, that the conduct of the allies,
 “ and their opposition to the queen, by private in-
 “ trigues carried on among her own subjects, as
 “ well as by open remonstrances, had made the
 “ house of commons take that matter out of the
 “ hands of the ministers.

“ Lastly, that, in case the present treaty were
 “ broken off by the *Dutch* refusing to comply,
 “ her majesty thought it reasonable to insist, that
 “ some cautionary places be put into her hands as
 “ pledges, that no other negociation should be enter-
 “ ed into by the States General, without her parti-
 “ cipation.”

Mr. *Harley's* instructions to the queen's pleni-
 potentiaries were, “ That they should press those
 “ of *France* to open themselves as far as possible,
 “ in concerting such a plan of a general peace, as
 “ might give reasonable satisfaction to all the con-
 “ federates, and such as her parliament would ap-
 “ prove : That the people of *England* believed
 “ *France* would consent to such a plan ; wherein
 “ if they found themselves deceived, they would be
 “ as eager for prosecuting the war as ever.”

Their lordships were to declare openly to the
Dutch, “ That no extremity should make her
 “ majesty depart from insisting to have the Affien-
 “ to

“ to for her own subjects, and to keep *Gibraltar*
 “ and *Port-Mahon* ; but, if the States would agree
 “ with her upon these three heads, she would be
 “ content to reduce the trade of *Spain* and the
 “ *West-Indies* to the condition it was in under the
 “ late Catholic king *Charles II.*”

The *French* were farther to be pressed, “ That
 “ the pretender should be immediately sent out of
 “ that kingdom ; and that the most effectual me-
 “ thod should be taken, for preventing the union
 “ of *France* and *Spain* under one prince.”

About this time her majesty's ministers, and those of the allies at *Utrecht*, delivered in the several postulata, or demands of their masters to the *French* plenipotentiaries, which having been since made public, and all of them, except those of *Britain*, very much varying in the course of the negociation, the reader would be but ill entertained with a transcript of them here.

Upon intelligence of the last dauphin's death, the father, son, and grandson, all of that title, dying within the compass of a year, Mons. *Gaultier* went to *France* with letters to the marquiss of *Torcy*, to propose her majesty's expedient for preventing the union of that kingdom with *Spain* ; which, as it was the most important article to be settled, in order to secure peace for *Europe*, so it was a point that required to be speedily adjusted, under the present circumstances and situation of the *Bourbon* family, there being only left a child of two years old

to

to stand between the duke of *Anjou* and his succeeding to the crown of *France*.

Her majesty likewise pressed *France* by the same dispatches, to send full instructions to their plenipotentiaries, empowering them to offer to the allies such a plan of peace, as might give reasonable satisfaction to all her allies.

The queen's proposal for preventing an union between *France* and *Spain* was, "that *Philip* should formally renounce the kingdom of *France* for himself and his posterity; and that this renunciation should be confirmed by the courts or states of *Spain*, who, without question, would heartily concur against such an union, by which their country must become a province to *France*." In like manner, the *French* princes of the blood were severally to renounce all title to *Spain*.

The *French* raised many difficulties upon several particulars of this expedient; but the Queen persisted to refuse any plan of peace before this weighty point were settled in the manner she proposed, which was afterwards submitted to, as in proper place we shall observe. In the mean time, the negotiation at *Utrecht* proceeded with a very slow pace; the *Dutch* interposing all obstructions they could contrive, refusing to come to any reasonable temper upon the Barrier-treaty, or to offer a plan, in concert with the queen, for a general peace. Nothing less would satisfy them, than the partaking in those advantages we had stipulated for ourselves, and which did no ways interfere with their trade

or security. They still expected some turn in *England*; their friends on this side had ventured to assure them, that the queen could not live many months, which, indeed, from the bad state of her majesty's health, was reasonable to expect. The *British* plenipotentiaries daily discovered new endeavours of *Holland* to treat privately with *France*; and, lastly, those among the States, who desired the war should continue, strove to gain time, until the campaign should open; and by resolving to enter into action with the first opportunity, render all things desperate, and break up the congress.

This scheme did exactly fall in with prince *Eugene's* dispositions, whom the States had chosen for their general, and of whose conduct, in this conjuncture, the queen had too much reason to be jealous; but her majesty, who was resolved to do her utmost towards putting a good and speedy end to this war, having placed the duke of *Ormond* at the head of her forces in *Flanders*, whither he was now arrived, directed him to keep all the troops in *British* pay, whether subjects or foreigners, immediately under his own command; and to be cautious, for a while, in engaging in any action of importance, unless upon a very apparent advantage. At the same time the queen determined to make one thorough trial of the disposition of the States, by allowing them the utmost concessions that could any way suit either with her safety or honour. She therefore directed her ministers at *Utrecht*, to tell the *Dutch*, " That, in order to shew how desirous
 " she

“ she was to live in perfect amity with that repub-
 “ lick, she would resign up the fifteen *per cent.* ad-
 “ vantage upon *English* goods sent to the *Spanish*
 “ dominions, which the *French* king had offered
 “ her by a power from his grandson, and be con-
 “ tent to reduce that trade to the state in which it
 “ was under the late king of *Spain*. She would
 “ accept of any tolerable softening of these words
 “ in the seventh article of the Barrier-treaty,
 “ where it is said, the States shall have power, in
 “ case of an apparent attack, to put as many
 “ troops as they please into all the places of the
 “ *Netherlands*, without specifying an attack from
 “ the side of *France*, as ought to have been done ;
 “ otherwise, the queen might justly think they were
 “ preparing themselves for a rupture with *Britain*.
 “ Her majesty likewise consented, that the States
 “ should keep *Nieuport*, *Dendermond*, and the cas-
 “ tle of *Ghent*, as an addition to their barrier, al-
 “ though she were sensible how injurious those con-
 “ cessions would be to the trade of her subjects ;
 “ and would wave the demand of *Ostend* being de-
 “ livered into her hands, which she might with
 “ justice insist on. In return of all this, that the
 “ queen only desired the ministers of the States
 “ would enter into a close correspondence with
 “ her’s, and settle between them some plan of
 “ a general peace, which might give reason-
 “ able content to all her allies, and which her ma-
 “ jesty would endeavour to bring *France* to con-
 “ sent to. She desired the trade of her kingdoms
 “ to the *Netherlands*, and to the towns of their bar-
 “ rier,

“ rier, might be upon as good a foot as it was be-
 “ fore the war began: That the *Dutch* would not
 “ insist to have share in the *Affiento*, to which
 “ they had not the least pretensions; and that they
 “ would no longer encourage the intrigues of a fac-
 “ tion against her government. Her majesty as-
 “ sured them in plain terms, that her own future
 “ measures, and the conduct of her plenipotential-
 “ ries, should be wholly governed by their beha-
 “ viour in these points; and that her offers were
 “ only conditional, in case of their compliance with
 “ what she desired.”

But all these proofs of the queen's kindness and
 sincerity could not avail. The *Dutch* ministers
 pleaded, they had no power to concert the plan
 of general peace with those of *Britain*: how-
 ever, they assured the latter, that the *Affiento* was
 the only difficulty which stuck with their masters.
 Whereupon, at their desire, a contract for that
 traffick was twice read to them; after which they
 appeared very well satisfied, and said they would
 go to the *Hague* for further instructions. Thither
 they went, and, after a week's absence, returned
 the same answer, “ That they had no power to
 “ settle a scheme of peace; but could only discourse
 “ of it, when the difficulties of the Barrier-treaty
 “ were over.” And Mons. *Buys* took a journey to
Amsterdam, on purpose to stir up that city, where
 he was pensionary, against yielding the *Affiento* to
Britain; but was unsuccessful in his negotiation;

the

the point being yielded up there, and in most other towns in *Holland*.

It will have an odd sound in history, and appear hardly credible, that, in several petty republics of single towns, which make up the States General, it should be formally debated, whether the queen of *Great Britain*, who preserved the commonwealth at the charge of so many millions, should be suffered to enjoy, after a peace, the liberty granted her by *Spain* of selling *African* slaves in the *Spanish* dominions of *America*! But there was a prevailing faction at the *Hague*, violently bent against any peace, where the queen must act that part which they had intended for themselves. These politicians, who held constant correspondence with their old dejected friends in *England*, were daily fed with the vain hopes of the queen's death, or the party's restoration. They likewise endeavoured to spin out the time, till prince *Eugene's* activity had pushed on some great event, which might govern or perplex the conditions of peace. Therefore the *Dutch* plenipotentiaries, who proceeded by the instructions of those mistaken patriots, acted in every point with a spirit of litigiousness, than which nothing could give greater advantage to the enemy; a strict union between the allies, but especially *Britain* and *Holland*, being doubtless the only means for procuring safe and honourable terms from *France*.

But neither was this the worst; for the queen received undoubted intelligence from *Utrecht*, that

the *Dutch* were again attempting a separate correspondence with *France*. And by letters, intercepted, here, from *Vienna*, it was found, that the imperial court, whose ministers were in the utmost confidence with those of *Holland*, expressed the most furious rage against her majesty, for the steps she had taken to advance a peace.

This unjustifiable treatment the queen could not digest from an ally, upon whom she had conferred so many signal obligations, whom she had used with so much indulgence and sincerity during the whole course of the negotiation, and had so often invited to go along with her in every motion towards a peace. She apprehended likewise, that the negotiation might be taken out of her hands, if *France* could be secure of easier conditions in *Holland*, or might think that *Britain* wanted power to influence the whole confederacy. She resolved, therefore, on this occasion, to exert herself with vigour, steadiness, and dispatch; and, in the beginning of *May*, sent her commands to the earl of *Strafford* to repair immediately to *England*, in order to consult with her ministers what was proper to be done.

The proposal above mentioned, for preventing the union of *France* and *Spain*, met with many difficulties; *Mons. de Torcy* raising objections against several parts of it. But the queen refused to proceed any farther with *France*, until this weighty point were fully settled to her satisfaction; after which, she promised to grant a suspension of arms, provided the town and citadel of *Dunkirk* might be de-

livered as a pledge into her hands : and proposed that *Ipres* might be surrendered to the *Dutch*, if they would consent to come into the suspension. *France* absolutely refused the latter ; and the States General having acted in perpetual contradiction to her majesty, she pressed that matter no farther ; because she doubted they would not agree to a cessation of arms. However, she resolved to put a speedy end, or at least intermission, to her own share in the war : and the *French* having declared themselves ready to agree to her expedients for preventing the union of the two crowns, and consented to the delivery of *Dunkirk* ; positive orders were sent to the duke of *Ormond* to avoid engaging in any battle or siege, until he had further instructions ; but he was directed to conceal his orders, and to find the best excuses he could, if any pressing occasion should offer.

The reasons for this unusual proceeding, which made a mighty noise, were of sufficient weight to justify it ; for, pursuant to the agreement made between us and *France*, a courier was then dispatched from *Fontainebleau* to *Madrid*, with the offer of an alternative to *Philip*, either of resigning *Spain* immediately to the duke of *Savoy*, upon the hopes of succeeding to *France*, and some present advantage, which, not having been accepted, is needless to dilate on ; or of adhering to *Spain*, and renouncing all future claim to *France* for himself and his posterity.

Until it could be known which part *Phillip* would accept, the queen would not take possession of *Dunkirk*, nor suffer an armistice to be declared. But, however, since the most Christian king had agreed that his grandson should be forced, in case of a refusal, to make his choice immediately, her majesty could not endure to think, that perhaps some thousands of lives of her own subjects and allies might be sacrificed, without necessity, if an occasion should be found or sought for fighting a battle; which, she very well knew, prince *Eugene* would eagerly attempt, and put all into confusion, to gratify his own ambition, the enemy of his new masters the *Dutch*, and the rage of his court.

But the duke of *Ormond*, who, with every other quality that can accomplish or adorn a great man, inherits all the valour and loyalty of his ancestors, found it very difficult to acquit himself of his commission; for prince *Eugene*, and all the field-deputies of the States, had begun already to talk either of attacking the enemy, or besieging *Quefnoy*, the confederate army being now all joined by the troops they expected; and accordingly, about three days after the duke had received those orders from court, it was proposed to his grace, at a meeting with the prince and deputies, that the *French* army should be attacked, their camp having been viewed, and a great opportunity offering to do it with success: for the marechal *de Villars*, who had notice sent him by *Monf. de Torcy* of what was passing, and had signified the same by a trumpet

trumpet to the duke, shewed less vigilance than was usual to that general, taking no precautions to secure his camp, or observe the motions of the allies, probably on purpose to provoke them ; the duke said, “ That the earl of *Strafford's* sudden departure for *England* made him believe there was something of consequence now transacting, which would be known in four or five days ; and therefore desired they would defer this or any other undertaking, until he could receive fresh letters from *England*.” Whereupon the prince and deputies immediately told the duke, “ That they looked for such an answer as he had given them : That they had suspected our measures for some time, and their suspicions were confirmed by the express his grace had so lately received, as well as by the negligence of *Monf. Villars*.” They appeared extremely dissatisfied ; and the deputies told the duke, that they would immediately send an account of his answer to their masters, which they accordingly did ; and soon after, by order from the States, wrote him an expostulating letter, in a style less respectful than became them ; desiring him, among other things, to explain himself, whether he had positive orders not to fight the *French* ; and afterwards told him, “ They were sure he had such orders ; otherwise he could not answer what he had done.” But the duke still waved the question, saying, “ he would be glad to have letters from *England*, before he entered upon action, and that he expected them daily.”

Upon this incident, the ministers and generals of the allies immediately took the alarm, venting their fury in very violent expressions against the queen, and those she employed in her counsels : said, they were betrayed by *Britain*, and assumed the countenance of those who think they have received an injury, and were disposed to return it.

The duke of *Ormond's* army consisted of eighteen thousand of her majesty's subjects, and about thirty thousand hired from other princes, either wholly by the queen, or jointly by her and the States. The duke immediately informed the court of the dispositions he found among the foreign generals upon this occasion ; and that, upon an exigency, he could only depend on the *British* troops adhering to him ; those of *Hanover* having already determined to desert to the *Dutch*, and tempted the *Danes* to do the like ; and that he had reason to suppose the same of the rest.

Upon the news arriving at *Utrecht*, that the duke of *Ormond* had refused to engage in any action against the enemy, the *Dutch* ministers there went immediately to make their complaints to the lord privy-seal ; aggravating the strangeness of this proceeding, together with the consequence of it, in the loss of a most favourable opportunity for ruining the *French* army, and the discontent it must needs create in the whole body of the confederates ; adding, how hard it was that they should be kept in the dark, and have no communication of what was done in a point which so nearly concerned them.

them. They concluded, that the duke must needs have acted by orders; and desired his lordship to write, both to court and to his grace, what they had now said.

The bishop answered, " That he knew nothing
 " of this fact, but what they had told him; and
 " therefore was not prepared with a reply to their
 " representations: only, in general, he could
 " venture to say, that this case appeared very like
 " the conduct of their field-deputies upon former
 " occasions: That, if such orders were given,
 " they were certainly built upon very justifiable
 " foundations, and would soon be so explained as
 " to convince the States, and all the world, that
 " the common interest would be better provided
 " for another way, than by a battle or siege:
 " That the want of communication, which they
 " complained of, could not make the States so
 " uneasy as their declining to receive it had made
 " the queen, who had used her utmost endeavours
 " to persuade them to concur with her in concert-
 " ing every step towards a general peace, and set-
 " tling such a plan as both sides might approve
 " and adhere to; but, to this day, the States had
 " not thought fit to accept those offers, or to au-
 " thorise any of their ministers to treat with her
 " majesty's plenipotentiaries upon that affair, al-
 " though they had been pressed to it ever since the
 " negociation began: That his lordship, to shew
 " that he did not speak his private sense alone, took
 " this opportunity to execute the orders he had re-

“ceived the evening before, by declaring to them,
 “that all her majesty’s offers for adjusting the dif-
 “ferences between her and the States were found-
 “ed upon this exprefs condition, That they should
 “come immediately into the queen’s measures,
 “and act openly and sincerely with her; and that,
 “from their conduct, so directly contrary, she
 “now looked upon herself to be under no obliga-
 “tion to them.”

Monf. *Buys* and his colleagues were stunned with this declaration, made to them at a time when they pretended to think the right of complaining to be on their side, and had come to the bishop upon that errand. But, after their surprise was abated, and *Buys*’s long reasonings at an end, they began to think how matters might be retrieved; and were of opinion, that the States should immediately dispatch a minister to *England*, unless his lordship were empowered to treat with them; which, without new commands, he said he was not. They afterwards desired to know of the bishop, what the meaning was of the last words in his declaration, “That her majesty looked upon herself to be under no obligation to them.” He told them his opinion, “That, as the queen was bound by treaty to concert with the States the conditions of a peace, so, upon their declining the concert so frequently offered, she was acquitted of that obligation: but that he verily believed, whatever measures her majesty should take, she would always have a friendly regard to

“ the interest of their commonwealth ; and that as
 “ their unkindness had been very unexpected and
 “ disagreeable to her majesty, so their compliance
 “ would be equally pleasing.”

I have been the more circumstantial in relating this affair, because it furnished abundance of discourse, and gave rise to many wild conjectures and misrepresentations, as well here as in *Holland*, especially that part which concerned the duke of *Ormond* ; for the angry faction in the house of commons, upon the first intelligence that the duke had declined to act offensively against *France*, in concurrence with the allies, moved for an address, wherein the queen should be informed of “ the deep
 “ concern of her commons for the dangerous consequences to the common cause, which must arise
 “ from this proceeding of her general ; and to beseech her, that speedy instructions might be given
 “ to the duke to prosecute the war with vigour,
 “ in order to quiet the minds of her people, &c.” But a great majority was against this motion, and a resolution drawn up and presented to the queen by the whole house of a quite contrary tenour,
 “ That they had an intire confidence in her majesty’s most gracious promise, to communicate to
 “ her parliament the terms of the peace, before the
 “ same should be concluded ; and that they would
 “ support her majesty, in obtaining an honourable
 “ and safe peace, against all such persons, either at
 “ home or abroad, who have endeavoured or shall
 “ endeavour to obstruct the same.”

The

The courier sent with the alternative to *Spain* was now returned, with an account that *Philip* had chosen to renounce *France* for himself and his posterity ; whereof the queen having received notice, her majesty, upon the 6th of *June*, in a long speech to both houses of parliament, laid before them the terms of a general peace, stipulated between her and *France*. This speech, being the plan whereby both *France* and the allies have been obliged to proceed in the subsequent course of the treaty, I shall desire the reader's leave to insert it at length, although I believe it hath been already in most hands :

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ The making peace and war is the undoubted
 “ prerogative of the crown ; yet such is the just
 “ confidence I place in you, that, at the opening of
 “ this session, I acquainted you that a negocia-
 “ tion for a general peace was begun ; and after-
 “ wards, by messages, I promised to communi-
 “ cate to you the terms of peace, before the same
 “ should be concluded.

“ In pursuance of that promise, I now come to
 “ let you know upon what terms a general peace
 “ may be made.

“ I need not mention the difficulties which arise
 “ from the very nature of this affair ; and it is
 “ but too apparent, that these difficulties have been
 “ increased by other obstructions, artfully con-
 “ trived to hinder this great and good work.

“ Nothing,

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“ Nothing, however, has moved me from
“ steadily pursuing, in the first place, the true in-
“ terests of my own kingdoms; and I have not
“ omitted any thing, which might procure to all
“ our allies what is due to them by treaties, and
“ what is necessary for their security.

“ The assuring of the Protestant succession, as
“ by law established in the house of *Hanover*, to
“ these kingdoms, being what I have nearest at
“ heart, particular care is taken not only to have
“ that acknowledged in the strongest terms, but to
“ have an additional security, by the removal of
“ that person out of the dominions of *France*, who
“ has pretended to disturb this settlement.

“ The apprehension that *Spain* and the *West*
“ *Indies* might be united to *France*, was the chief
“ inducement to begin this war; and the effectual
“ preventing of such an union was the principle
“ I laid down at the commencement of this treaty:
“ former examples, and the late negotiations, suf-
“ ficiently shew how difficult it is to find means to
“ accomplish this work. I would not content
“ myself with such as are speculative, or depend
“ on treaties only: I insisted on what was solid,
“ and to have at hand the power of executing
“ what should be agreed.

“ I can therefore now tell you, that *France* at
“ last is brought to offer, that the duke of *Anjou*
“ shall, for himself and his descendants, renounce
“ for ever all claim to the crown of *France*; and
“ that this important article may be exposed to no
“ hazard,

“ hazard, the performance is to accompany the
 “ promise.

“ At the same time, the succession to the crown
 “ of *France* is to be declared, after the death of the
 “ present dauphin and his sons, to be in the duke
 “ of *Berry* and his sons, in the duke of *Orleans* and
 “ his sons, and so on to the rest of the house of
 “ *Bourbon*.

“ As to *Spain* and the *Indies*, the succession to
 “ those dominions, after the duke of *Anjou* and his
 “ children, is to descend to such prince as shall be
 “ agreed upon at the treaty, for ever excluding the
 “ rest of the house of *Bourbon*.

“ For confirming the renunciations and settle-
 “ ments before-mentioned, 'tis further offered,
 “ that they should be ratified in the most strong
 “ and solemn manner, both in *France* and *Spain* ;
 “ and that those kingdoms, as well as all the other
 “ powers engaged in the present war, shall be
 “ guarantees to the same.

“ The nature of this proposal is such, that it
 “ executes itself: the interest of *Spain* is to sup-
 “ port it ; and in *France*, the persons to whom
 “ that succession is to belong, will be ready and
 “ powerful enough to vindicate their own right.

“ *France* and *Spain* are now more effectually di-
 “ vided than ever. And thus, by the blessing of
 “ God, will a real balance of power be fixed in
 “ *Europe*, and remain liable to as few accidents as
 “ human affairs can be exempted from.

“ A treaty

“ A treaty of commerce between these king-
 “ doms and *France* has been entered upon ; but
 “ the excessive duties laid on some goods, and the
 “ prohibitions of others, make it impossible to
 “ finish this work so soon as were to be desired.
 “ Care is however taken to establish a method of
 “ settling this matter ; and in the mean time pro-
 “ vision is made, that the same privileges and ad-
 “ vantages, as shall be granted to any other nation
 “ by *France*, shall be granted in like manner to
 “ us.

“ The division of the island of *St. Christopher*,
 “ between us and the *French*, having been the
 “ cause of great inconveniency and damage to my
 “ subjects, I have demanded to have an absolute
 “ cession made to me of the whole island ; and
 “ *France* agrees to this demand.

“ Our interest is so deeply concerned in the
 “ trade of *North America*, that I have used my
 “ utmost endeavours to adjust that article in the
 “ most beneficial manner. *France* consents to restore
 “ to us the whole bay and freights of *Hudson*, to
 “ deliver up the island of *Newfoundland*, with *Pla-*
 “ *centia* ; and to make an absolute cession of *An-*
 “ *napolis*, with the rest of *Nova Scotia*, or *Accadie* :
 “ the safety of our home trade will be better pro-
 “ vided for, by the demolition of *Dunkirk*.

“ Our *Mediterranean* trade, and the *British* in-
 “ terest and influence in those parts, will be se-
 “ cured by the possession of *Gibraltar* and *Port-*
 “ *Mahon*,

“ *Mahon*, with the whole island of *Minorca*,
 “ which are offered to remain in my hands.

“ The trade to *Spain* and the *West Indies* may
 “ in general be settled as it was in the time of the
 “ late king of *Spain*, *Charles* the Second, and a
 “ particular provision be made, that all advantages,
 “ rights, or privileges, which have been granted,
 “ or may hereafter be granted, by *Spain* to any
 “ other nation, shall be in like manner granted to
 “ the subjects of *Great Britain*.

“ But, the part which we have borne in the
 “ prosecution of this war, intitling us to some dis-
 “ tinction in the terms of peace, I have insisted,
 “ and obtained, that the *Affiento*, or contract for
 “ furnishing the *Spanish* *West Indies* with Negroes,
 “ shall be made with us for the term of thirty
 “ years, in the same manner as it has been enjoyed
 “ by the *French* for ten years past.

“ I have not taken upon me to determine the
 “ interests of our confederates ; these must be ad-
 “ justed in the congress at *Utrecht*, where my best
 “ endeavours shall be employed, as they have
 “ hitherto constantly been, to procure to every
 “ one of them all just and reasonable satisfaction.
 “ In the mean time, I think it proper to acquaint
 “ you, that *France* offers to make the *Rhine* the
 “ barrier of the empire ; to yield *Brisack*, the fort
 “ of *Kehl*, and *Landau*, and to rase all the fortresses,
 “ both on the other side of the *Rhine* and in that
 “ river.

“ As

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“ As to the Protestant interest in *Germany*, there
“ will be on the part of *France* no objection to the
“ re-settling thereof, on the foot of the treaty of
“ *Westphalia*.

“ The *Spanish* Low Countries may go to his
“ imperial majesty : the kingdoms of *Naples* and
“ *Sardinia*, the dutchy of *Milan*, and the places
“ belonging to *Spain* on the coast of *Tuscany*, may
“ likewise be yielded by the treaty of peace to the
“ emperor.

“ As to the kingdom of *Sicily*, though there re-
“ mains no dispute concerning the cession of it by
“ the duke of *Anjou*, yet the disposition thereof is
“ not yet determined.

“ The interests of the States General, with re-
“ spect to commerce, are agreed to, as they have
“ been demanded by their own ministers, with the
“ exception only of some very few species of mer-
“ chandize : and the intire barrier, as demanded
“ by the States in 1709 from *France*, except two
“ or three places at most.

“ As to these exceptions, several expedients are
“ proposed ; and I make no doubt but this barrier
“ may be so settled, as to render that republick
“ perfectly secure against any enterprize on the part
“ of *France* ; which is the foundation of all my
“ engagements upon this head with the States.

“ The demands of *Portugal* depending on the
“ disposition of *Spain*, and that article having been
“ long in dispute, it has not been yet possible to
“ make any considerable progress therein ; but my
“ pleni-

“ plenipotentiaries will now have an opportunity
 “ to assist that king in his pretensions.

“ Those of the king of *Prussia* are such as, I
 “ hope, will admit of little difficulty on the part of
 “ *France*; and my utmost endeavours shall not be
 “ wanting to procure all I am able to so good an
 “ ally.

“ The difference between the barrier demanded
 “ for the duke of *Savoy* in 1709, and the offers
 “ now made by *France*, is very inconsiderable: but
 “ that prince having so signally distinguished him-
 “ self in the service of the common cause, I am en-
 “ deavouring to procure for him still farther advan-
 “ tages.

“ *France* has consented, that the elector *Palatine*
 “ shall continue his present rank among the elec-
 “ tors, and remain in possession of the *Upper Pala-*
 “ *tinate*.

“ The electoral dignity is likewise acknowledged
 “ in the house of *Hanover*, according to the arti-
 “ cle inserted, at that prince's desire, in my de-
 “ mands.

“ And as to the rest of the allies, I make no
 “ doubt of being able to secure their several in-
 “ terests.

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ I have now communicated to you, not only
 “ the terms of peace, which may, by the future
 “ treaty, be obtained for my own subjects; but
 “ likewise

“ likewise the proposals of *France*, for satisfying
“ our allies.

“ The former are such as I have reason to ex-
“ pect, to make my people some amends for that
“ great and unequal burden which they have lain
“ under, through the whole course of this war ;
“ and I am willing to hope, that none of our con-
“ federates, and especially those to whom so great
“ accessions of dominion and power are to accrue
“ by this peace, will envy *Britain* her share in the
“ glory and advantage of it.

“ The latter are not yet so perfectly adjusted,
“ as a little more time might have rendered them ;
“ but the season of the year making it necessary to
“ put an end to this session, I resolved no longer
“ to defer communicating these matters to you.

“ I can make no doubt but you are all fully
“ persuaded, that nothing will be neglected on my
“ part, in the progress of the negotiation, to bring
“ the peace to an happy and speedy issue ; and I
“ depend on your intire confidence in me, and
“ your chearful concurrence with me.”

The discontented party in the house of commons,
finding the torrent against them not to be stemmed,
suspended their opposition ; by which means an ad-
dress was voted, *nemine contradicente*, to acknow-
ledge her majesty’s condescension, to express their
satisfaction in what she had already done, and to
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“ your chearful concurrence with me.”

The discontented party in the house of commons, finding the torrent against them not to be stemmed, suspended their opposition ; by which means an address was voted, *nemine contradicente*, to acknowledge her majesty's condescension, to express their satisfaction in what she had already done, and to desire she would please to proceed with the present negotiations for the obtaining a speedy peace.

During these transactions at home, the duke of *Ormond* was in a very uneasy situation at the army, employed in practising those arts which perhaps are fitter for a subtle negociator than a great commander. But, as he had always proved his obedience, where courage or conduct could be of use ; so the duty he professed to his prince, made him submit to continue in a state of inactivity at the head of his troops, however contrary to his nature, if it were for her majesty's service. He had sent early notice to the ministers, that he could not depend upon the foreign forces in the queen's pay ; and he now found some attempts were already begun to seduce them.

While the courier was expected from *Madrid*, the duke had orders to inform the marechal *de Villars* of the true state of this affair ; that his grace would have decisive orders in three or four days. In the mean time, he desired the marechal would not oblige him to come to any action, either to defend himself, or to join with prince *Eugene's* army ; which he must necessarily do, if the prince were attacked.

When the courier was arrived with the account, that *Philip* had chosen to accept of *Spain*, her majesty had proposed to *France* a suspension of arms for two months (to be prolonged three or four) between the armies now in *Flanders*, upon the following conditions :

“ That, during the suspension, endeavours
 “ should be used for concluding a general peace ;
 “ or, at least, the article for preventing the union
 “ of *France* and *Spain* should be punctually exe-
 “ cuted,

“ cuted, by *Philip's* renouncing *France*, for himself
 “ and his posterity ; and the princes of *Bourbon*,
 “ in like manner, renouncing *Spain* : and that the
 “ town, citadel, and forts of *Dunkirk*, should be
 “ immediately delivered into the queen's hands.”

Her majesty, at the same time, endeavoured to get *Cambray* for the *Dutch*, provided they would come into the suspension. But this was absolutely rejected by *France* ; which that court never would have ventured to do, if those allies could have been prevailed on to have acted with sincerity and openness in concert with her majesty, as her plenipotentiaries had always desired. However, the queen promised, that, if the States would yield to a suspension of arms, they should have some valuable pledge put into their possession.

But now fresh intelligence daily arrived, both from *Utrecht* and the army, of attempts to make the troops in her majesty's pay desert her service ; and a design even of seizing the *British* forces was whispered about, and with reason suspected.

When the queen's speech was published in *Holland*, the lord privy-seal told the *Dutch* ministers at *Utrecht*, “ That what her majesty had laid
 “ before her parliament could not, according to
 “ the rules of treaty, be looked on as the utmost
 “ of what *France* would yield in the course of a
 “ negociation ; but only the utmost of what that
 “ crown would propose, in order to form the plan
 “ of a peace : That these conditions would cer-
 “ tainly have been better, if the States had thought

“ fit to have gone hand in hand with her majesty, as
 “ she had so frequently exhorted them to do : That
 “ nothing but the want of harmony among the allies
 “ had spirited the *French* to stand out so long : That
 “ the queen would do them all the good offices in
 “ her power, if they thought fit to comply ; and did
 “ not doubt of getting them reasonable satisfaction,
 “ both in relation to their barrier and their trade.” But
 this reasoning made no impresson : the *Dutch* mini-
 sters said, the queen’s speech had deprived them of
 the fruits of the war. They were in pain lest *Lisle*
 and *Tournay* might be two of the towns to be ex-
 cepted out of their barrier. The rest of the allies
 grew angry, by the example of the *Dutch*. The
 populace in *Holland* began to be enflamed : they
 publicly talked, that *Britain* had betrayed them.
 Sermons were preached in several towns of their
 provinces, whether by direction or connivance,
 filled with the highest instances of disrespect to her
Britannic majesty, whom they charged as a papist,
 and an enemy to their country. The lord privy
 seal himself believed something extraordinary was
 in agitation, and that his own person was in dan-
 ger from the fury of the people.

It is certain, that the States appeared but a few
 days before very much disposed to comply with
 the measures the queen had taken, and would have
 consented to a general armistice, if count *Zinzen-
 dorf*, one of the plenipotentiaries for the emperor,
 had not, by direct orders from his court, employed
 himself in sowing jealousies between *Britain* and
 the

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the States ; and at the same time made prodigious offers to the latter, as well as to the ministers of *Prussia*, the *Palatinate*, and *Hanover*, for continuing the war. That those three electors, who contributed nothing, except bodies of men in return of pay and subsidies, should readily accept the proposals of the emperor, is easy to be accounted for. What appears hardly credible is, that a grave republick, usually cautious enough in making their bargains, should venture to reject the thoughts of a peace upon the promises of the house of *Austria*, the little validity whereof they had so long experienced ; and especially when they counted upon losing the support of *Britain*, their most powerful ally ; but the false hopes given them by their friends in *England* of some new change in their favour, or an imagination of bringing *France* to better terms by the appearance of resolution, added to the weakness or corruption of some, who administered their affairs, were the true causes which first created, and afterwards inflamed, this untractable temper among them.

The *Dutch* ministers were wholly disconcerted and surpris'd, when the lord privy-seal told them, " That a suspension of arms in the *Netherlands* " would be necessary ; and that the duke of *Ormond* intended very soon to declare it after he " had taken possession of *Dunkirk*." But his lordship endeavoured to convince them, that this incident ought rather to be a motive for hastening the

States into a compliance with her majesty. He likewise communicated to the ministers of the allies the offers made by *France*, as delivered in the speech from the throne, which her majesty thought to be satisfactory, and hoped their masters would concur with her in bringing the peace to a speedy conclusion, wherein each, in particular, might be assured of her best offices for advancing their just pretensions.

In the mean time the duke of *Ormond* was directed to send a body of troops to take possession of *Dunkirk*, as soon as he should have notice from the marechal *de Villars*, that the commandant of the town had received orders from his court to deliver it; but the duke foresaw many difficulties in the executing of this commission. He could trust such an enterprize to no forces, except those of her majesty's own subjects. He considered the temper of the States in this conjuncture, and was loth to divide a small body of men, upon whose faithfulness alone he could depend. He thought it not prudent to expose them to march through the enemy's country, with whom there was yet neither peace nor truce; and he had sufficient reasons to apprehend, that the *Dutch* would either not permit such a detachment to pass through their towns (as themselves had more than hinted to him) or would seize them as they passed: besides, the duke had fairly signified to marechal *de Villars*, that he expected to be deserted by all the foreign troops in her majesty's pay, as soon as the armistice should

should be declared ; at which the marechal appearing extremely disappointed, said, “ the king his master reckoned, that all the troops under his grace’s command should yield to the cessation ; and wondered how it should come to pass, that those who might be paid for lying still, would rather chuse, after a ten years war, to enter into the service of new masters, under whom they must fight on for nothing.” In short, the opinion of Monsr. *Villars* was, that this difficulty cancelled the promise of surrendering *Dunkirk* ; which therefore he opposed as much as possible, in the letters he writ to his court.

Upon the duke of *Ormond*’s representing those difficulties, the queen altered her measures, and ordered forces to be sent from *England* to take possession of *Dunkirk*. The duke was likewise commanded to tell the foreign generals in her majesty’s service, how highly she would resent their desertion ; after which their masters must give up all thoughts of any arrears, either of pay or subsidy. The lord privy-seal spoke the same language at *Utrecht*, to the several ministers of the allies : as Mr. secretary *St. John* did to those who resided here ; adding, “ That the proceeding of the foreign troops would be looked upon as a declaration for or against her majesty : and that, in case they desert her service, she would look on herself as justified, before God and man, to continue her negociation at *Utrecht*, or any other place, whether the allies concur or not.” And particularly

the *Dutch* were assured, “ That, if their masters
 “ seduced the forces hired by the queen, they must
 “ take the whole pay, arrears, and subsidies, on
 “ themselves.”

The earl of *Strafford*, preparing about this time to return to *Utrecht*, with instructions proper to the present situation of affairs, went first to the army, and there informed the duke of *Ormond* of her majesty's intentions. He also acquainted the States Deputies with the queen's uneasiness, lest, by the measures they were taking, they should drive her to extremities, which she desired so much to avoid. He farther represented to them, in the plainest terms, the provocations her majesty had received, and the grounds and reasons for her present conduct. He likewise declared to the commanders in chief of the foreign troops, in the queen's pay, and in the joint pay of *Britain* and the States, with how much surprize her majesty had heard, “ That there was
 “ the least doubt of their obeying the orders of the
 “ duke of *Ormond* ; which if they refused, her majesty would esteem it not only as an indignity and
 “ affront, but as a declaration against her ; and,
 “ in such a case, they must look on themselves as
 “ no farther intitled either to any arrear, or future
 “ pay, or subsidies.”

Six regiments, under the command of Mr. *Hill*, were now preparing to embark, in order to take possession of *Dunkirk* ; and the duke of *Ormond*, upon the first intelligence sent him, that the *French* were ready to deliver the town, was to declare he
 could

could act no longer against *France*. The queen gave notice immediately of her proceedings to the States. She let them plainly know, " That their
 " perpetual caballing with her factious subjects,
 " against her authority, had forced her into such
 " measures, as otherwise she would not have en-
 " gaged in. However, her majesty was willing
 " yet to forget all that had passed, and to unite
 " with them in the strictest ties of amity, which
 " she hoped they would now do ; since they could
 " not but be convinced, by the late dutiful ad-
 " dresses of both houses, how far their high mighti-
 " nesses had been deluded, and drawn in as instru-
 " ments to serve the turn, and gratify the pas-
 " sions, of a disaffected party : That their op-
 " position, and want of concert with her ma-
 " jesty's ministers, which she had so often invited
 " them to, had encouraged *France* to except towns
 " out of their barrier, which otherwise might have
 " been yielded : That, however, she had not pre-
 " cluded them, or any other ally, from demand-
 " ing more ; and even her own terms were but
 " conditional, upon supposition of a general peace
 " to ensue : That her majesty resolved to act upon
 " the plan laid down in her speech." And she re-
 peated the promise of her best offices to promote
 the interest of the States, if they would deal
 sincerely with her.

Some days before the duke of *Ormond* had notice that orders were given for the surrender of *Dunkirk*, prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* sent for the ge-
 nerals

nerals of the allies, and asked them severally, whether, in case the armies separated, they would march with him, or stay with the duke? All of them, except two, who commanded but small bodies, agreed to join with the prince; who thereupon, about three days after, sent the duke word, that he intended to march the following day (as it was supposed) to besiege *Landrecy*. The duke returned an answer, “ That he was surprised at the
 “ prince’s message, there having been not the least
 “ previous concert with him, nor any mention in
 “ the message, which way, or upon what design, the march was intended: therefore, that
 “ the duke could not resolve to march with him;
 “ much less could the prince expect assistance
 “ from the queen’s army, in any design undertaken
 “ after this manner.” The duke told this beforehand, that he (the prince) might take his measures accordingly, and not attribute to her majesty’s general any misfortune that might happen.

On the 16th of *July*, N. S. the several generals of the allies joined prince *Eugene’s* army, and began their march, after taking leave of the duke and the earl of *Strafford*, whose expostulations could not prevail on them to stay; although the latter assured them, that the queen had made neither peace nor truce with *France*, and that her forces would now be left exposed to the enemy.

The next day after this famous desertion, the duke of *Ormond* received a letter from *Monf. de Villars*, with an account, that the town and citadel of *Dunkirk* should be delivered to *Mr. Hill*.

Where-

Whereupon a cessation of arms was declared, by found of trumpet, at the head of the *British* army; which now consisted only of about eighteen thousand men, all of her majesty's subjects, except the *Holsteiners* and count *Wallis's* dragoons. With this small body of men the general began his march; and, pursuant to orders from court, retired towards the sea, in the manner he thought most convenient for the queen's service. When he came as far as *Flines*, he was told by some of his officers, that the commandants of *Bouchain*, *Douay*, *Lisle* and *Tournay*, had refused them passage thro' those towns, or even liberty of entrance, and said it was by order of their masters. The duke immediately recollected, that, when the deputies first heard of his resolution to withdraw his troops, they told him, they hoped he did not intend to march through any of their towns. This made him conclude, that the orders must be general, and that his army would certainly meet with the same treatment which his officers had done. He had likewise, before the armies separated, received information of some designs that concerned the safety, or at least the freedom, of his own person, and (which he much more valued) that of those few *British* troops intrusted to his care. No general was ever more truly or deservedly beloved by his soldiers, who, to a man, were prepared to sacrifice their lives in his service; and whose resentments were raised to the utmost, by the ingratitude, as they termed it, of their deserters.

Upon

Upon these provocations, he laid aside all thoughts of returning to *Dunkirk*, and began to consider how he might perform, in so difficult a conjuncture, something important to the queen, and at the same time find a secure retreat for his forces. He formed his plan without communicating it to any person whatsoever; and the disposition of the army being to march towards *Warneton*, in the way to *Dunkirk*, he gave sudden orders to lieutenant-general *Cadogan*, to change his route, according to the military phrase, and move towards *Orchies*, a town leading directly to *Ghent*.

When prince *Eugene* and the States deputies received news of the duke's motions, they were alarmed to the utmost degree, and sent count *Nassau*, of *Wordenburg*, to the general's camp near *Orchies*, to excuse what had been done, and to assure his grace, that those commandants, who had refused passage to his officers, had acted wholly without orders. Count *Hempfeck*, one of the *Dutch* generals, came likewise to the duke with the same story; but all this made little impression on the general, who held on his march, and on the 23d of *July*, N. S. entered *Ghent*, where he was received with great submission by the inhabitants, and took possession of the town, as he likewise did of *Bruges*, a few days after.

The duke of *Ormond* thought, that, considering the present disposition of the States towards *Britain*, it might be necessary for the queen to have some
pledge

pledge from that republick in her hands, as well as from *France*, by which means her majesty would be impowered to act the part that best became her, of being mediator at least: that, while *Ghent* was in the queen's hands, no provisions could pass the *Scheld* or the *Lis* without her permission, by which he had it in his power to starve their army. The possession of these towns might likewise teach the *Dutch* and *Imperialists*, to preserve a degree of decency and civility to her majesty, which both of them were upon some occasions too apt to forget: and besides, there was already in the town of *Ghent*, a battalion of *British* troops and a detachment of five hundred men in the citadel, together with a great quantity of ammunition-stores for the service of the war, which would certainly have been seized or embezzled; so that no service could be more seasonable or useful in the present juncture than this, which the queen highly approved, and left the duke a discretionary power to act as he thought fit on any future emergency.

I have a little intercepted the order of time, in relating the duke of *Ormond's* proceedings, who, after having placed a garrison at *Bruges*, and sent a supply of men and ammunition to *Dunkirk*, retired to *Ghent*, where he continued some months, till he had leave to return to *England*.

Upon the arrival of colonel *Disney* at court, with an account that Mr. *Hill* had taken possession of *Dunkirk*, an universal joy spread over the kingdom, this event being looked on as the certain

fore-

fore-runner of a peace: besides, the *French* faith was in so ill a reputation among us, that many persons, otherwise sanguine enough, could never bring themselves to believe, that the town would be delivered, till certain intelligence came that it was actually in our hands. Neither were the ministers themselves altogether at ease, or free from suspicion, whatever countenance they made; for they knew very well, that the *French* king had many plausible reasons to elude his promise, if he found cause to repent it; one condition of surrendering *Dunkirk* being a general armistice of all the troops in the *British* pay, which her majesty was not able to perform; and upon this failure, the marechal *de Villars* (as we have before related) endeavoured to dissuade his court from accepting the conditions: and in the very interval, while those difficulties were adjusting, the marechal *de Huxelles*, one of the *French* plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* (whose inclinations, as well as those of his colleague *Monf. Mesnager*, led him to favour the States more than *Britain*) assured the lord privy-seal, that the *Dutch* were then pressing to enter into separate measures with his masters: and his lordship, in a visit to *abbé de Polignac*, observing a person to withdraw as he entered the abbé's chamber, was told by this minister, that the person he saw was one *Molean*, of *Amsterdam*, mentioned before, a famous agent of the States with *France*, who had been entertaining him (the abbé) upon the same subject; but that
 he

he had refused to treat with *Moleau*, without the privity of *England*.

Mr. *Harley*, whom we mentioned above to have been sent early in the spring to *Utrecht*, continued longer in *Holland* than was at first expected ; but, having received her majesty's further instructions, was about this time arrived at *Hanover*. It was the misfortune of his electoral highness, to be very ill served by *Monf. Bothmar*, his envoy here, who assisted at all the factious meetings of the discontented party, and deceived his master by a false representation of the kingdom, drawn from the opinion of those to whom he confined his conversation. There was likewise at the elector's court a little *Frenchman*, without any merit or consequence, called *Robithan*, who, by the assistance and encouragement of the last ministry, had insinuated himself into some degree of that prince's favour, which he used in giving his master the worst impressions he was able, of those whom the queen employed in her service ; insinuating, that the present ministers were not in the interest of his highness's family ; that their views were towards the pretender ; that they were making an unsecure and dishonourable peace ; that the weight of the nation was against them ; and that it was impossible for them to preserve much longer their credit or power.

The earl *Rivers* had, in the foregoing year, been sent to *Hanover*, in order to undeceive the elector, and remove whatever prejudices might be infused into his highness against her majesty's proceedings ;

ceedings ; but it should seem, that he had no very great success in his negotiation : for, soon after his return to *England*, *Monf. Bothmar's* memorial appeared in the manner I have already related, which discovered the sentiments of his electoral highness (if they were truly represented in that memorial) to differ not a little from those of the queen. Mr. *Harley* was therefore directed to take the first opportunity of speaking to the elector in private, to assure him, “ That, although her majesty had “ thought herself justly provoked by the conduct of “ his minister, yet such was her affection for his “ highness, and concern for the interests of his “ family, that, instead of shewing the least mark “ of resentment, she had chosen to send him (Mr. “ *Harley*) fully instructed to open her designs, and “ shew his highness the real interest of *Britain* in “ the present conjuncture.” Mr. *Harley* was to give the elector a true account of what had passed in *England*, during the first part of this session of parliament ; to expose to his highness the weakness of those with whom his minister had consulted, and under whose directions he had acted ; to convince him how much lower that faction must become, when a peace should be concluded, and when the natural strength of the kingdom, disincumbered from the burthen of the war, should be at liberty to exert itself ; to shew him how his interest in the succession was sacrificed to that of a party : that his highness had been hitherto a friend to both sides ; but that the measures taken
by

by his ministers, had tended only to set him at the head of one in opposition to the other : to explain to the elector, how fully the safety of *Europe* was provided for by the plan of peace in her majesty's speech ; and how little reason those would appear to have, who complained the loudest of this plan, if it were compared either with our engagements to them when we began the war, or with their performances in the course of it.

Upon this occasion, Mr. *Harley* was to observe to the elector, " That it should rather be
 " wondered at, how the queen had brought *France*
 " to offer so much, than yet to offer no more ;
 " because, as soon as ever it appeared that
 " her majesty would be at the head of this treaty,
 " and that the interests of *Britain* were to be pro-
 " vided for, such endeavours were used to break
 " off the negotiation, as are hardly to be paralleled ;
 " and the disunion thereby created among the al-
 " lies, had given more opportunities to the enemy,
 " of being slow in their concessions, than any other
 " measures might possibly have done : That this
 " want of concert among the allies could not in
 " any sort be imputed to the queen, who had all
 " along invited them to it with the greatest earnest-
 " ness, as the surest means to bring *France* to rea-
 " son : That she had always, in a particular man-
 " ner, pressed the States General to come into the
 " strictest union with her, and opened to them
 " her intentions with the greatest freedom ; but
 " finding, that, instead of concurring with her ma-
 " jesty,

“ jecty, they were daily carrying on intrigues to break
 “ off the negociation, and thereby deprive her of
 “ the advantages she might justly expect from the
 “ ensuing peace, having no other way left, she
 “ was forced to act with *France*, as she did, by her-
 “ self: That, however, the queen had not taken
 “ upon herself to determine the interests of the al-
 “ lies, who were at liberty of insisting on farther
 “ pretensions, wherein her majesty would not be
 “ wanting to support them as far as she was able,
 “ and improve the concessions already made by
 “ *France*; in which case, a good understanding
 “ and harmony among the confederates would
 “ yet be of the greatest use for making the enemy
 “ more tractable and easy.”

I have been more particular in reciting the substance
 of Mr. *Harley's* instructions, because it will serve
 as a recapitulation of what I have already said upon
 this subject, and seems to set her majesty's intenti-
 ons, and proceedings at this time, in the clearest
 light.

After the cessation of arms declared by the duke
 of *Ormond*, upon the delivery of *Dunkirk*, the *Brit-
 ish* plenipotentiaries very earnestly pressed those of
Holland to come into a general armistice; for, if
 the whole confederacy acted in conjunction, this
 would certainly be the best means for bringing the
 common enemy to reasonable terms of peace: but
 the States, deluded by the boundless promises
 of count *Zindendorf*, and the undertaking ta-
 lent of prince *Eugene*, who dreaded the conclusion
 of

of the war, as the period of his glory, would not hear of a cessation. The loss of eighteen thousand *Britons* was not a diminution of weight in the balance of such an ally as the emperor, and such a general as the prince. Besides, they looked upon themselves to be still superior to *France* in the field; and, although their computation was certainly right in point of number, yet, in my opinion, the conclusion drawn from it was grounded upon a great mistake. I have been assured by several persons of our own country, and some foreigners of the first rank, both for skill and station in arms, that, in most victories obtained in the present war, the *British* troops were ever employed in the post of danger and honour, and usually began the attack (being allowed to be naturally more fearless than the people of any other country), by which they were not only an example of courage to the rest, but must be acknowledged, without partiality, to have governed the fortune of the day; since it is known enough, how small a part of an army is generally engaged in any battle. It may likewise be added, that nothing is of greater moment in war than opinion. The *French*, by their frequent losses, which they chiefly attributed to the courage of our men, believed that a *British* general, at the head of *British* troops, was not to be overcome; and the marechal de *Villars* was quickly sensible of the advantage he had got; for, in a very few days after the desertion of the allies, happened the earl of *Albemarle's* disgrace at *Denain*, by a feint of the

marechal's, and a manifest failure, somewhere or other, both of courage and conduct on the side of the confederates. The blame of which was equally shared between prince *Eugene* and the earl; although it is certain, the duke of *Ormond* gave the latter timely warning of his danger, observing he was neither intrenched as he ought, nor provided with bridges sufficient for the situation he was in, and at such a distance from the main army.

The marquis *de Torcy* had likewise the same sentiments, of what mighty consequence those few *British* battalions were to the confederate army; since he advised his master to deliver up *Dunkirk*, although the queen could not perform the condition understood, which was a cessation of arms of all the foreign forces in her pay.

It must be owned, that *Monf. de Torcy* made great merit of this confidence that his master placed in the queen; and observing her majesty's displeasure against the *Dutch*, on account of their late proceedings, endeavoured to inflame it with aggravations enough; insinuating, that, since the States had acted so ungratefully, the queen should let her forces join with those of *France*, in order to compel the confederates to a peace. But, although this overture were very tenderly hinted from the *French* court, her majesty heard it with the utmost abhorrence; and ordered her secretary, *Mr. St. John* (created about this time viscount *Bolingbroke*), to tell *Monf. de Torcy*, "That no provocations
" whatever should tempt her to distress her allies;
" but

“ but she would endeavour to bring them to reason
 “ by fair means, or leave them to their own con-
 “ duct : That, if the former should be found im-
 “ practicable, she would then make her own peace,
 “ and content herself with doing the office of a
 “ mediator between both parties : but, if the States
 “ should at any time come to a better mind, and
 “ suffer their ministers to act in conjunction with
 “ her’s, she would assert their just interests to the
 “ utmost, and make no farther progress in any
 “ treaty with *France*, until those allies received all
 “ reasonable satisfaction, both as to their barrier
 “ and their trade.” The *British* plenipotentiaries
 were directed to give the same assurances to the
Dutch ministers at *Utrecht*, and withal to let them
 know, “ That the queen was determined, by their
 “ late conduct, to make peace either with or with-
 “ out them ; but would much rather chuse the
 “ former.”

There was, however, one advantage, which her
 majesty resolved to make by this defection of her
 foreigners. She had been led, by the mistaken
 politicks of some years past, to involve herself in
 several guaranties with the princes of the North,
 which were, in some sort, contradictory to one
 another ; but this conduct of their’s wholly annul-
 led all such engagements, and left her at liberty to
 interpose in the affairs of those parts of *Europe*,
 in such a manner as would best serve the interests
 of her own kingdoms, as well as that of the Pro-

testant religion, and settle a due balance of power in the North.

The grand article, for preventing the union of *France* and *Spain*, was to be executed during a cessation of arms. But many difficulties arising about that, and some other points of great importance to the common cause, which could not easily be adjusted either between the *French* and *British* plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, or by correspondence between *Monf. de Torcy* and the ministry here; the queen took the resolution of sending the lord viscount *Bolingbroke* immediately to *France*, fully instructed in all her intentions, and authorised to negotiate every thing necessary for settling the treaty of peace in such a course, as might bring it to a happy and speedy conclusion. He was impowered to agree to a general suspension of arms, by sea and land, between *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Spain*, to continue for four months, or until the conclusion of the peace; provided *France* and *Spain* would previously give positive assurances to make good the terms demanded by her majesty for the duke of *Savoy*, and would likewise adjust and determine the forms of the several renunciations to be made by both those crowns, in order to prevent their being ever united. The lord *Bolingbroke* was likewise authorised to settle some differences relating to the elector of *Bavaria*, for whose interests *France* was as much concerned as her majesty was for those of the duke of *Savoy*; to explain all doubtful articles which particularly related to the advantages of *Bri-*

tain ; to know the real ultimation, as it is termed, of *France* upon the general plan of peace ; and lastly, to cut off all hopes from that court of ever bringing the queen to force her allies to a disadvantageous peace ; her majesty resolving to impose no scheme at all upon them, or to debar them from the liberty of endeavouring to obtain the best conditions they could.

The lord *Bolingbroke* went to *France* in the beginning of *August*, was received at court with particular marks of distinction and respect ; and in a very few days, by his usual address and ability, performed every part of his commission, extremely to the queen's content and his own honour. He returned to *England* before the end of the month ; but Mr. *Prior*, who went along with him, was left behind, to adjust whatever differences might remain or arise between the two crowns.

In the mean time, the general conferences at *Utrecht*, which for several weeks had been let fall, since the delivery of *Dunkirk*, were now resumed. But the *Dutch* still declaring against a suspension of arms, and refusing to accept the queen's speech as a plan to negotiate upon, there was no progress made for some time in the great work of the peace. Whereupon the *British* plenipotentiaries told those of the States, " That, if the queen's endeavours

" could not procure more than the contents of her

" speech, or if the *French* should ever fall short of

" what was there offered, the *Dutch* could blame

“none but themselves, who by their conduct, had rendered things difficult, that would otherwise have been easy.” However, her majesty thought it prudent to keep the States still in hopes of her good offices, to prevent them from taking the desperate course of leaving themselves wholly at the mercy of *France*; which was an expedient they formerly practised, and which a party among them was now inclined to advise.

Whilst the congress at *Utrecht* remained in this inactive state, the queen proceeded to perfect that important article for preventing the union of *France* and *Spain*. It was proposed and accepted, that *Philip* should renounce *France*, for himself and his posterity; and that the most Christian king, and all the princes of his blood, should, in the like manner, renounce *Spain*.

It must be confessed, that this project of renunciation lay under a great disrepute, by the former practices of this very king, *Lewis XIV.* pursuant to an absurd notion among many in that kingdom, of a divine right, annexed to proximity of blood, not to be controlled by any human law.

But it is plain, the *French* themselves had recourse to this method, after all their infractions of it, since the *Pyrenean* treaty; for the first dauphin, in whom the original claim was vested, renounced, for himself and his eldest son, which opened the way to *Philip* Duke of *Anjou*; who would however hardly have succeeded, if it had not been for the will made in his favour by the last king, *Charles II.*

It

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It is indeed hard to reflect, with any patience, upon the unaccountable stupidity of the princes of *Europe* for some centuries past, who left a probability to *France* of succeeding in a few ages to all their dominions; whilst, at the same time, no alliance with that kingdom could be of advantage to any prince, by reason of the Salique law. Should not common prudence have taught every sovereign in Christendom to enact a Salique law, with respect to *France*; for want of which, it is almost a miracle, that the *Bourbon* family hath not possessed the universal monarchy by right of inheritance? When the *French* assert a proximity of blood gives a divine right, as some of their ministers, who ought to be more wise or honest, have lately advanced in this very case, to the title of *Spain*; do they not, by allowing a *French* succession, make their own kings usurpers? Or, if the Salique law be divine, is it not of universal obligation, and consequently of force, to exclude *France* from inheriting by daughters? Or, lastly, if that law be or human institution, may it not be enacted in any state, with whatever extent or limitation the legislature shall think fit? For the notion of an unchangeable human law is an absurdity in government, to be believed only by ignorance, and supported by power. From hence it follows, that the children of the late queen of *France*, although she had renounced, were as legally excluded from succeeding to *Spain*, as if the Salique law had been fundamental in that kingdom; since that exclusion was established

blished by every power in *Spain* which could possibly give a sanction to any law there ; and therefore the duke of *Anjou's* title is wholly founded upon the bequest of his predecessor (which hath great authority in that monarchy, as it formerly had in our's), upon the confirmation of the Cortes, and the general consent of the people.

It is certain, the faith of princes is so frequently subservient to their ambition, that renunciations have little validity, otherwise than from the powers and parties whose interest it is to support them. But this renunciation, which the queen hath exacted from the *French* king and his grandson, I take to be armed with all the essential circumstances that can fortify such an act. For as it is necessary, for the security of every prince in *Europe*, that those two great kingdoms should never be united ; so the chief among them will readily consent to be guarantees for preventing such a misfortune.

Besides, this proposal (according to her majesty's expression in her speech) is of such a nature, that it executes itself ; because the *Spaniards*, who dread such an union, for every reason that can have weight among men, took care that their king should not only renounce, in the most solemn manner ; but likewise, that the act should be framed in the strongest terms themselves could invent, or we could furnish them with. As to *France*, upon supposal of the young dauphin's dying in a few years, that kingdom will not be in a condition to engage in a long war against a powerful alliance, fortified

fortified with the addition of the *Spaniards*, and the party of the duke of *Berry*, or whoever else shall be next claimer: and the longer the present dauphin lives, the weaker must *Philip's* interest be in *France*; because the princes, who are to succeed by this renunciation, will have most power and credit in the kingdom.

The mischiefs occasioned by the want of a good understanding between the allies, especially *Britain* and *Holland*, were raised every day; the *French* taking the advantage, and raising difficulties, not only upon the general plan of peace, but likewise upon the explanation of several articles in the projected treaty between them and her majesty: They insisted to have *Lisle*, as the equivalent for *Dunkirk*; and demanded *Tournay*, *Maubeuge*, and *Condé*, for the two or three towns mentioned in the queen's speech; which the *British* plenipotentiaries were so far from allowing, that they refused to confer with those of *France* upon that foot; although, at the same time, the former had fresh apprehensions that the *Dutch*, in a fit of despair, would accept whatever terms the enemy pleased to offer, and, by precipitating their own peace, prevent her majesty from obtaining any advantages, both for her allies and herself.

It is most certain, that the repeated losses suffered by the States, in little more than two months after they had withdrawn themselves from the queen's assistance, did wholly disconcert their counsels; and their prudence (as it is usual) began to forsake them

them with their good fortune. They were so weak as to be still deluded by their friends in *England*, who continued to give them hopes of some mighty and immediate resource from hence; for when the duke of *Ormond* had been about a month in *Ghent*, he received a letter from the marechal *de Villars*, to inform him, that the *Dutch* generals, taken at *Denain*, had told the marechal publicly of a sudden revolution expected in *Britain*; that particularly the earl of *Albemarle* and *Monf. Hompesch* discoursed very freely of it; and that nothing was more commonly talked of in *Holland*. It was then likewise confidently reported in *Ghent*, that the queen was dead; and we all remember what rumour flew about here at the very same time, as if her majesty's health were in a bad condition.

Whether such vain hopes as these gave spirit to the *Dutch*; whether their frequent misfortunes made them angry and sullen; whether they still expected to over-reach us by some private stipulations with *France*, thro' the mediation of the elector of *Bavaria*, as that prince afterwards gave out; or whatever else was the cause; they utterly refused a cessation of arms, and made not the least return to all the advances and invitations made by her majesty, until the close of the campaign.

It was then the States first began to view their affairs in another light; to consider how little the vast promises of count *Zindendorf* were to be relied on; to be convinced that *France* was not disposed to break with her majesty, only to gratify their ill-humour,

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humour, or unreasonable demands ; to discover that their factious correspondents on this side the water had shamefully misled them ; that some of their own principal towns grew heartily weary of the war, and backward in their loans ; and, lastly, that prince *Eugene*, their new general, whether his genius or fortune had left him, was not for their turn. They, therefore, directed their ministers at *Utrecht* to signify to the lord privy-seal and the earl of *Strafford*, “ That the States were disposed to comply with her majesty, and to desire her good offices with *France* ; particularly, that *Tournay* and *Condé* might be left to them as part of their barrier, without which they could not be safe : That the elector of *Bavaria* might not be suffered to retain any town in the *Netherlands*, which would be as bad for *Holland* as if those places were in the hands of *France* : Therefore the States proposed, that *Luxembourg*, *Namur*, *Charleroy*, and *Nieuport*, might be delivered to the emperor. Lastly, That the *French* might not insist on excepting the four species of goods out of the tariff of 1664 : That, if her majesty could prevail with *France* to satisfy their masters on these articles, they would be ready to submit in all the rest.”

When the queen received an account of this good disposition in the States General, immediately orders were sent to Mr. *Prior*, to inform the ministers of the *French* court, “ That her majesty had now some hopes of the *Dutch* complying
“ with

“ with her measures ; and therefore she resolved,
 “ as she had always declared, whenever those allies
 “ came to themselves, not to make the peace with-
 “ out their reasonable satisfaction.” The difficulty
 that most pressed, was about the disposal of *Tournay*
 and *Condé*. The *Dutch* insisted strongly to have both,
 and the *French* were extremely unwilling to part
 with either.

The queen judged the former would suffice, for
 completing the barrier of the States. Mr. *Prior*
 was therefore directed to press the marquis *de Torcy*
 effectually on this head, and to terminate all that
 minister’s objections, by assuring him of her ma-
 jesty’s resolutions to appear openly on the side of the
Dutch, if this demand were refused. It was thought
 convenient to act in this resolute manner with
France, whose late success, against *Holland*, had
 taught the ministers of the most Christian king to re-
 sume their old imperious manner of treating with that
 republick ; to which they were farther encouraged
 by the ill understanding between her majesty and
 the allies.

This appeared from the result of an idle quarrel
 that happened, about the end of *August*, at *Utrecht*,
 between a *French* and a *Dutch* plenipotentiary,
Monf. Mesnager and count *Rechteren* ; wherein the
 court of *France* demanded such abject submissions,
 and with so much haughtiness, as plainly shewed
 they were pleased with any occasion of mortifying
 the *Dutch*.

Besides,

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Besides, the politicks of the *French* ran at this time very opposite to those of *Britain*: They thought the ministers here durst not meet the parliament without a peace; and that, therefore, her majesty would either force the States to comply with *France*, by delivering up *Tournay*, which was the principal point in dispute, or would finish her own peace with *France* and *Spain*, leaving a fixed time for *Holland* to refuse or accept the terms imposed on them. But the queen, who thought the demand of *Tournay* by the States to be very necessary and just, was determined to insist upon it, and to declare openly against *France*, rather than suffer her ally to want a place so useful for their barrier. And Mr. *Prior* was ordered to signify this resolution of her majesty to *Monf. de Torcy*, in case that minister could not be otherwise prevailed on.

The *British* plenipotentiaries did likewise, at the same time, express to those of *Holland* her majesty's great satisfaction, that the States were at last disposed to act in confidence with her: "That she
 "wished this resolution had been sooner taken,
 "since nobody had gained by the delay, but the
 "French king; that, however, her majesty did
 "not question the procuring a safe and honourable
 "peace, by united counsels, reasonable demands,
 "and prudent measures; that she would assist
 "them in getting whatever was necessary to their
 "barrier, and in settling, to their satisfaction,
 "the exceptions made by *France* out of the tariff
 "of 1664; that no other difficulties remained of
 "moment

account of the disposition of affairs in *Holland*, was now returning with her last instructions, to let the *Dutch* minister know, “ That some points would “ probably meet with difficulties not to be overcome, which once might have been easily obtained : “ To shew what evil consequences had already flowed from their delay and irresolution ; and to intreat them to fix on some proposition, reasonable “ in itself, as well as possible to be effected : That “ the queen would insist upon the cession of *Tournay* “ by *France*, provided the States would concur in “ finishing the peace, without starting new objections, or insisting upon farther points : That the “ *French* demands, in favour of the elector of *Bavaria*, appeared to be such as, the queen was of “ opinion, the States ought to agree to ; which were, “ to leave the elector in possession of *Luxemburg*, “ *Namur*, and *Charleroy*, subject to the terms of “ their barrier, until he should be restored to his “ electorate ; and to give him the kingdom of *Sardinia*, to efface the stain of his degradation in the “ electoral college : That the earl had brought “ over a project of a new treaty of succession and “ barrier, which her majesty insisted the States “ should sign, before the conclusion of the peace ; “ the former treaty having been disadvantageous “ to her subjects, containing in it the seeds of future dissensions, and condemned by the sense of “ the nation. Lastly, that her majesty, notwithstanding all provocations, had, for the sake of the “ *Dutch*, and in hopes of their recovery from those

“ false notions which had so long misled them, hitherto kept the negotiations open : That the offers now made them were her last, and this the last time she would apply to them : That they must either agree, or expect the queen would proceed immediately to conclude her treaty with *France* and *Spain*, in conjunction with such of her allies as would think fit to adhere to her.

“ As to *Savoy*, that the queen expected the States would concur with her in making good the advantages stipulated for that duke, and in prevailing with the emperor to consent to an absolute neutrality in *Italy*, until the peace should be concluded.”

The governing party in *Holland*, however in appearance disposed to finish, affected new delays, and raised many difficulties about the four species of goods, which the *French* had excepted out of the tariff. Count *Zinzendorf*, the emperor’s plenipotentiary, did all that was possible to keep up this humour in the *Dutch*, in hopes to put them under a necessity of preparing for the next campaign ; and some time after went so far in this pursuit, that he summoned the several ministers of the empire, told them he had letters from his master, with orders to signify to them, “ That his imperial majesty resolved to begin the campaign early, with all his forces united against *France* ; of which he desired they would send notice to all their courts, that the several princes might be ready to furnish their contingents and recruits.” At the same time,

time, *Zinzendorf* endeavoured to borrow two millions of florins upon the security of some imperial cities ; but could not succeed either amongst the *Jews* or at *Amsterdam*.

When the earl of *Strafford* arrived at *Utrecht*, the lord privy-seal and he communicated to the *Dutch* ministers the new treaty for a succession and barrier, as the queen had ordered it to be prepared here in *England*, differing from the former in several points of the greatest moment, obvious to any who will be at the pains to compare them. This was strenuously opposed for several weeks by the plenipotentiaries of the States ; but the province of *Utrecht*, where the congress was held, immediately sent orders to their representatives at the *Hague*, to declare their province thankful to the queen ; that they agreed the peace should be made on the terms proposed by *France*, and consented to the new-projected treaty of barrier and succession : and about the close of the year, 1712, four of the seven provinces had delivered their opinions for putting an end to the war.

This unusual precipitation in the States, so different from the whole tenour of their former conduct, was very much suspected by the *British* plenipotentiaries. Their lordships had received intelligence, that the *Dutch* ministers held frequent conferences with those of *France*, and had offered to settle their interests with that crown, without the concurrence of *Britain*. Count *Zinzendorf*, and his colleagues, appeared likewise, all on the sudden,

to have the same dispositions, and to be in great haste to settle their several differences with the States. The reasons for this proceeding were visible enough ; many difficulties were yet undetermined in the treaty of commerce between her majesty and *France*; for the adjusting of which, and some other points, the queen had lately dispatched the duke of *Shrewsbury* to that court. Some of these were of hard digestion, with which the most Christian king would not be under a necessity of complying, when he had no farther occasion for us, and might, upon that account, afford better terms to the other two powers. Besides, the emperor and the States could very well spare her majesty the honour of being arbitrator of a general peace ; and the latter hoped, by this means, to avoid the new treaty of barrier and succession, which we were now forcing on them.

To prevent the consequences of this evil, there fortunately fell out an incident, which the two lords at *Utrecht* knew well to make use of : the quarrel between *Monf. Mesnager* and *Count Richteren* (formerly mentioned) had not yet been made up. The *French* and *Dutch* differing in some circumstances, about the satisfaction to be given by the count for the affront he had offered, the *British* plenipotentiaries kept this dispute on foot for several days ; and, in the mean time, pressed the *Dutch* to finish the new treaty of barrier and succession between her majesty and them, which, about the middle of *January*, was concluded fully to the queen's satisfaction.

But,

But, while these debates and differences continued at the congress, the queen resolved to put a speedy end to her part in the war; she therefore sent orders to the lord privy-seal and the earl of *Strafford*, to prepare every thing necessary for signing her own treaty with *France*. This she hoped might be done against the meeting of her parliament, now prorogued to the third of *February*; in which time, those among the allies, who were really inclined towards a peace, might settle their several interests, by the assistance and support of her majesty's plenipotentiaries; and as for the rest, who would either refuse to comply, or endeavour to protract the negociation, the heads of their respective demands, which *France* had yielded by her majesty's intervention, and agreeable to the plan laid down in her speech, should be mentioned in the treaty, and a time limited for the several powers concerned to receive or reject them.

The pretender was not yet gone out of *France*, upon some difficulties alledged by the *French*, about procuring him a safe conduct to *Bar-le-duc*, in the duke of *Lorraine's* dominions, where it was then proposed he should reside. The queen, altogether bent upon quieting the minds of her subjects, declared, she would not sign the peace till that person were removed; although several wise men believed he could be no where less dangerous to *Britain*, than in the place where he was.

The argument which most prevailed on the States to sign the new treaty of barrier and succes-

sion with *Britain*, was her majesty's promise to procure *Tournay* for them from *France*; after which, no more differences remained between us and that republick, and consequently they had no farther temptations to any separate transactions with the *French*, who thereupon began to renew their litigious and haughty manner of treating with the *Dutch*. The satisfaction they extorted for the affront given by count *Richteren* to *Monf. Mefnager*, although somewhat softened by the *British* ministers at *Utrecht*, was yet so rigorous, that her majesty could not forbear signifying her resentment of it to the most Christian king. *Monf. Mefnager*, who seemed to have more the genius of a merchant than a minister, began, in his conferences with the plenipotentiaries of the States, to raise new disputes upon points which both we and they had reckoned upon as wholly settled. The *abbé de Polignac*, a most accomplished person, of great generosity and universal understanding, was gone to *France*, to receive the cardinal's cap; and the *marechal de Huxelles* was wholly guided by his colleague, *Monf. Mefnager*, who kept up those brangles, that for a time obstructed the peace; some of which were against all justice, and others of small importance, both of very little advantage to his country, and less to the reputation of his master or himself. This low talent in business, which the cardinal *de Polignac* used, in contempt, to call a *Spirit of Negotiating*, made it impossible for the two lords, plenipotentiaries, with all their abilities and experience, to bring

Mefnager

Mefnager to reason, in several points both with us and the States : his concessions were few and constrained, serving only to render him more tenacious of what he refused. In several of the towns, which the States were to keep, he insisted that *France* should retain the chatellanies, or extent of country depending on them, particularly that of *Tournay*; a demand the more unjustifiable, because he knew his master had not only proceeded directly contrary, but had erected a court in his kingdom, where his own judges extended the territories about those towns he had taken, as far as he pleased to direct them. *Monf. Mefnager* shewed equal obstinacy in what his master expected for the elector of *Bavaria*, and in refusing the tariff of 1664 : so that the queen's plenipotentiaries represented these difficulties as what might be of dangerous consequence, both to the peace in general, and to the States in particular, if they were not speedily prevented.

Upon these considerations, her majesty thought it her shortest and safest course to apply directly to *France*, where she had then so able a minister as the duke of *Shrewsbury*.

The marquiss *de Torcy*, secretary to the most Christian king, was the minister with whom the duke was to treat, as having been the first who moved his master to apply to the queen for a peace, in opposition to a violent faction in that kingdom, who were as eagerly bent to continue the war, as any other could be either here or in *Holland*.

It would be very unlike an historian, to refuse this great minister the praise he so justly deserveth, of having treated, through the whole course of so great a negociation, with the utmost candour and integrity; never once failing in any promise he made, and tempering a firm zeal to his master's interest, with a ready compliance to what was reasonable and just. Mr. *Prior*, whom I have formerly mentioned, resided likewise now at *Paris*, with the character of a minister plenipotentiary; and was very acceptable to that court, upon the score of his wit and humour.

The duke of *Shrewsbury* was directed to press the *French* court upon the points yet unsettled in the treaty of commerce between both crowns; to make them drop their unreasonable demands for the elector of *Bavaria*; to let them know, that the queen was resolved not to forsake her allies, who were now ready to come in; that she thought the best way of hastening the general peace, was to determine her own particular one with *France*, until which time she could not conveniently suffer her parliament to meet.

The States were, by this time, so fully convinced of the queen's sincerity and affection to their republick, and how much they had been deceived by the insinuations of the factious party in *England*, that they wrote a very humble letter to her majesty, to desire her assistance towards settling those points they had in dispute with *France*, and professing themselves ready to acquiesce in whatever explanation

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tion her majesty would please to take of no plan proposed in her speech to the parliament.

But the queen had already prevented their desires; and in the beginning of *February*, 1712-13, directed the duke of *Shrewsbury* to inform the *French* court, “ That, since she had prevailed on her allies, the
“ *Dutch*, to drop the demand of *Condé*, and the
“ other of the four species of goods, which the
“ *French* had excepted out of the tariff of 1664,
“ she would not sign without them: That she ap-
“ proved of the *Dutch* insisting to have the chate-
“ lanies restored with the towns, and was resolv-
“ ed to stand or fall with them, until they were
“ satisfied in this point.”

Her majesty had some apprehensions, that the *French* created these difficulties on purpose to spin out the treaty, until the campaign should begin. They thought it absolutely necessary, that our parliament should meet in a few weeks, which could not well be ventured, until the queen were able to tell both houses, that her own peace was signed: That this would not only facilitate what remained in difference between *Britain* and *France*, but leave the *Dutch* entirely at the mercy of the latter.

The queen, weary of these refined mistakes in the *French* politicks, and fully resolved to be trified with no longer, sent her determinate orders to the duke of *Shrewsbury*, to let *France* know, “ That
“ her majesty had hitherto prorogued her parlia-
“ ment, in hopes of accommodating the difficul-
“ ties in her own treaties of peace and commerce
“ with that crown, as well as settling the interests
“ of

“ of her several allies ; or, at least, that the dif-
 “ ferences in the former being removed, the most
 “ Christian king would have made such offers for
 “ the latter, as might justify her majesty in signing
 “ her own peace, whether the confederates intend-
 “ ed to sign theirs or no. But, several points
 “ being yet unfinished between both crowns, and
 “ others between *France* and the rest of the
 “ of the allies, especially the States, to which the
 “ plenipotentiaries of that court at *Utrecht* had
 “ not thought fit to give satisfaction ; the queen
 “ was now come to a final determination, both
 “ with relation to her own kingdoms and to the
 “ whole alliance : That, the campaign approaching,
 “ she would not willingly be surpris’d in case the
 “ war was to go on : That she had transmitted to
 “ the duke of *Shrewsbury* her last resolutions, and
 “ never would be prevailed on to reduce her own de-
 “ mands, or those of her allies, any lower than the
 “ scheme now sent over, as an explanation of the
 “ plan laid down in her speech : That her majesty
 “ had sent orders to her plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*,
 “ to assume the character of ambassadors, and sign
 “ the peace immediately with the ministers of the
 “ most Christian king, as soon as the duke of *Shrew-*
 “ *sbury* should have sent them notice that the *French*
 “ had complied : That the queen had therefore far-
 “ ther prorogued her parliament to the third of
 “ *March*, in hopes to assure them, by that time,
 “ of her peace being agreed on ; for, if the two
 “ houses should meet while any uncertainty re-
 “ main’d, supplies must be ask’d as for a war.”

The

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The duke of *Shrewsbury* executed this important commission with that speed and success, which could only be expected from an able minister [a]. The *French* king immediately yielded to the whole scheme her majesty proposed ; whereupon directions were sent to the lord privy-seal, and the earl of *Strafford*, to sign a peace between *Great Britain* and *France*, without delay.

Upon the second day of *March*, the two *British* plenipotentiaries met those of the allies in the Town-house at *Utrecht* ; where the lord privy-seal addressed himself to them in a short speech, “ That the negotiation had now continued fourteen months
“ with great slowness, which had proved very injurious to the interests of the allies : That the
“ queen had staid thus long, and stopped the finishing her own peace, rather than leave her allies
“ in any uncertainty : That she hoped they would
“ now be all prepared to put an end to this great
“ work ; and therefore had commanded her plenipotentiaries to tell those of the allies, That she
“ found it necessary to conclude her own treaty immediately ; and it was her opinion, that the
“ confederates ought to finish theirs at the same time, to which they were now accordingly invited, by
“ her majesty’s orders.” And lastly, his lordship declared in the queen’s name, “ That whoever
“ could not be ready on the day prefixed, should
“ have a convenient time allowed them to come
“ in.”

[a] See his character vol. VIII. p. 125.

Although

Although the orders sent by the queen to her plenipotentiaries were very precise, yet their lordships did not precipitate the performance of them. They were directed to appoint as short a day for the signing as they conveniently could; but, however, the particular day was left to their discretion. They hoped to bring over the *Dutch*, and most of the other allies, to conclude at the same time with the queen; which as it would certainly be more popular to their country, so they conceived it would be more safe for themselves: besides, upon looking over their commission, a scruple sprang in their minds, that they could not sign a particular peace with *France*; their powers, as they apprehended, authorising them only to sign a general one. Their lordships therefore sent to *England* to desire new powers, and, in the mean time, employed themselves with great industry, between the ministers of *France* and those of the several allies, to find some expedient for smoothing the way to an agreement among them.

The earl of *Strafford* went for a few days to the *Hague*, to inform the States of her majesty's express commands to his colleague and himself, for signing the peace as soon as possible; and to desire they would be ready at the same time, which the pensionary promised; and that their plenipotentiaries should be empowered accordingly, to the great contentment of Mons. *Buys*, who was now so much altered, either in reality or appearance, that he complained to the earl of Mons. *Heinsius*'s slowness; and charged all the delays and mismanagements

ments of a twelve-month past, to that minister's account.

While the earl of *Strafford* staid at the *Hague*, he discovered that an emissary of the duke of *Marlborough's* had been there some days before, sent by his grace to dissuade the *Dutch* from signing at the same time with the ministers of the queen, which, in *England*, would at least have the appearance of a separate peace, and oblige their *British* friends, who knew how to turn so short a delay to very good account, as well as gratify the emperor ; on whom, it was alledged, they ought to rely much more than on her majesty. One of the States likewise told the earl, " That the same person, employed by the
 " duke, was then in conference with the magis-
 " trates of *Rotterdam* (which town had declared
 " for the continuance of the war), to assure them,
 " if they would hold off a little, they should see
 " an unexpected turn in the *British* parliament :
 " That the duke of *Marlborough* had a list of the
 " discontented members in both houses, who were
 " ready to turn against the court ; and, to crown
 " all, that his grace had certain intelligence of the
 " queen being in so ill a state of health, as made
 " it impossible for her to live above six weeks." So restless and indefatigable is avarice and ambition, when inflamed by a desire of revenge !

But representations, which had been so often tried, were now offered too late. Most of the allies, except the emperor, were willing to put an end to the war upon her majesty's plan ; and the

further delay of three weeks must be chiefly imputed to that litigious manner of treating, peculiar to the *French*; whose plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* insisted with obstinacy upon many points, which at *Paris* *Monf. de Torcy* had given up.

The emperor expected to keep all he already possessed in *Italy*; that *Portlongue*, on the *Tuscan* coast, should be delivered to him by *France*; and, lastly, that he should not be obliged to renounce *Spain*. But the queen, as well as *France*, thought that his imperial majesty ought to sit down contented with his partage of *Naples* and *Milan*: and to restore those territories in *Italy*, which he had taken from the rightful proprietors, and by the possession of which he was grown dangerous to the *Italian* princes, by reviving antiquated claims upon them.

This prince had likewise objected to her majesty's expedient of suffering the elector of *Bavaria* to retain *Luxembourg*, under certain conditions, by way of security, until his electorate were restored. But the queen, supposing that these affected delays were intended only with a view of continuing the war, resolved to defer the peace no longer on the emperor's account.

In the middle of *March* 1712-13, a courier arrived at *Utrecht* from *France*, with the plan of a general peace, as it had been agreed between the duke of *Shrewsbury* and *Monf. de Torcy*; wherein every particular, relating to the interests and pretensions of the several allies, was brought so near to what
each

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each of them would accept, that the *British* plenipotentiaries hoped the peace would be general in ten or twelve days. The *Portuguese* and *Dutch* were already prepared, and others were daily coming in, by means of their lordship's good offices, who found *Mons. Mesnager* and his colleague very stubborn to the last. Another courier was dispatched to *France*, upon some disputes about inserting the titles of her majesty and the most Christian king, and to bring a general plan for the interests of these allies, who should not be ready against the time prefixed. The *French* renunciations were now arrived at *Utrecht*; and it was agreed, that those, as well as that of the king of *Spain*, should be inserted at length in every treaty, by which means the whole confederacy would become guaranties of them.

The courier, last sent to *France*, returned to *Utrecht* on the 27th of *March*, with the concessions of that court upon every necessary point; so that, all things being ready for putting a period to this great and difficult work, the lord privy-seal and the earl of *Strafford* gave notice to the ministers of the several allies, "That their lordships had
 " appointed *Tuesday* the 31st instant, wherein to
 " sign a treaty of peace, and a treaty of commerce,
 " between the queen of *Great Britain*, their mistresses, and the most Christian king; and hoped
 " the said allies would be prepared, at the same
 " time, to follow their example." Accordingly

their lordships employed the three intervening days, in smoothing the few difficulties that remained between the *French* ministers and those of the several confederate powers.

The important day being now come, the lord bishop of *Bristol* and the earl of *Strafford*, having assumed the character of ambassadors extraordinary, gave a memorial in behalf of the *French* protestants to the marechal de *Huxelles* and his colleague, who were to transmit it to their court; and these delivered to the *British* ambassadors a declaration in writing, that the pretender was actually gone out of *France*.

The conditions of peace to be allowed the emperor and the empire, as adjusted between *Britain* and *France*, were now likewise delivered to the count *Zinzendorf*. These and some other previous matters of smaller consequence being finished, the treaties of peace and commerce between her majesty of *Britain* and the most Christian king were signed at the lord privy-seal's house, between two and three of the clock in the afternoon. The ministers of the duke of *Savoy* signed about an hour after. Then the assembly adjourned to the earl of *Strafford's*, where they all went to dinner; and about nine at night the peace was signed by the ministers of *Portugal*, by those of *Prussia* at eleven, and when it was near midnight by the States.

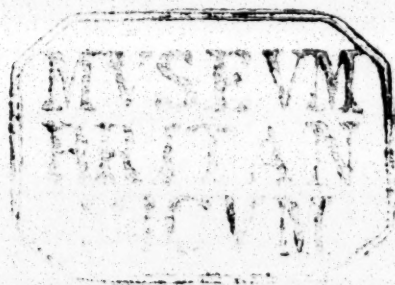
Thus, after all the opposition raised by a strong party in *France*, and by a virulent faction in *Britain*;
after

after all the artifices of those who presided at the *Hague*, and, for their private interest, endeavoured, in conjunction with their friends in *England*, to prolong the war ; after the restless endeavours of the imperial court to render the treaty ineffectual ; the firm steady conduct of the queen, the wisdom and courage of her ministry, and the abilities of those whom she employed in her negotiations abroad, prevailed to have a peace signed in one day, by every power concerned, except that of the emperor and the empire ; for his imperial majesty liked his situation too well to think of a peace, while the drudgery and expences of the war lay upon other shoulders, and the advantages were to redound only to himself.

During this whole negotiation, the king of *Spain*, who was not acknowledged by any of the confederates, had consequently no minister at *Utrecht* ; but the differences between her majesty and that prince were easily settled by the lord *Lexington* at *Madrid*, and the marquis of *Monteleon* here : so that, upon the duke *D'Ossuna's* arrival at the congress, some days after the peace, he was ready to conclude a treaty between the queen and his master. Neither is it probable that the *Dutch*, or any other ally except the emperor, will encounter any difficulties of moment, to retard their several treaties with his Catholic majesty.

The treaties of peace and commerce, between *Britain* and *France*, were ratified here on the 7th

of *April*; on the 28th, the ratifications were exchanged; and on the 5th of *May*, the peace was proclaimed in the usual manner; but with louder acclamations, and more extraordinary rejoicings of the people, than had been ever been remembered on the like occasion.



END OF VOL. XV.

